

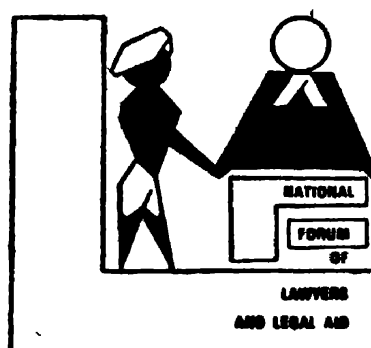


A Great Patriot

PANDIT MOTILAL NEHRU

A Great Patriot

Foreword by
D.K. BOROOAH
President, Indian National Congress



NATIONAL FORUM OF LAWYERS AND LEGAL AID
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—*Editors*

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FOREWORD

It is indeed a good augury to remember Pandit Motilal Nehru, a great patriot, an ardent freedom fighter, a great statesman and talented parliamentarian, whose place in the history of freedom struggle is unique as a true soldier of the Motherland. He had the life of a hero and also earned the death of a martyr. The present generation must draw inspiration from the noble life and sacrifices of this illustrious son of India who was gifted with all qualities that turn a man great and noble. He had the lustre and dignity of a monarch, quality and talent of an eminent lawyer, magnanimity of a politician and indomitable will and zeal of a true patriot with high intellectual calibre. In this regard, The Hindustan Times (Delhi) in the editorial in 1931 wrote:

“Pandit Motilal possessed the courage of a lion, the daring of a soldier, the will for suffering of a martyr, intelligence of a statesman, and the heart of a prince.”

It is rightly said that he was a prince among patriots whose views on economic exploitation, religion and politics, independence and Dominion Status, constitutional framework, labour and communal harmony are still greatly relevant in our times and could serve as beacon-light in our march towards economic freedom. The fittest tribute to Pandit Motilal Nehru is to imbibe the spirit for which he worked, suffered and died during turbulent days of India's freedom struggle. It is appropriate to recall what Panditji said:

“Our highest ambition is to be buried in the foundations of a free India and then sink into obscurity to be thought of no more.....But we shall drop down dead in the supreme satisfaction that noble edifice of this freedom of India shall in the fullness of time rise on our bones.”

Panditji was a towering personality and one of the most successful lawyers of India and commanded a practice which some of the world's greatest lawyers might like to have. Because he was possessed of scientific outlook, sound logical mind and talented persuasive art of advocacy. He was, no doubt, a keen

debater of highest order and, in this regard, one of his contemporaries Dr. K.N. Katju analysed the secret of his success in the profession of law and said: "Pandit Motilal was handsome. He dressed fastidiously. He was by no means eloquent, but keen in debate and incisive in argument. He radiated cheerfulness and good humour... While Pandit Motilal was in the court and on his legs, the atmosphere seemed surcharged with sunshine." He had profusion of gifts and knowledge came easily to him and as an advocate he had the finest art of presenting his case in its most attractive form.

Pandit Motilal Nehru's contribution as parliamentarian is of very high quality. He was the Leader of Opposition in the Central Assembly and guided his Swaraj Party for six years with all courage and charisma of leadership at his command. Pandit Motilal Nehru's role in the Central Legislative Assembly had the specific objective of smoothening the way for complete independence from the British yoke. It is a matter of high tribute that he had the courage to quit the Central Assembly and not to return any more to impress upon the members of his party to accelerate freedom struggle by non-cooperation method.

I appreciate the efforts of the 'National Forum of Lawyers and Legal Aid' to celebrate the birthday of Pandit Motilal Nehru as 'Lawyers Day' on 6th May, 1976 which I think is a fitting tribute to this great son of India who will continue to inspire the present and future generations through his noble life, ideas and sacrifices which have become the brilliant chapters in our history. I am sure, the special book which is being brought out on the occasion of his birthday will be an attempt to pour out the gratitude of our hearts to his sacred memory.

INTRODUCTION

Motilal Nehru represented a great tradition of liberal secularism, free from the bonds of orthodoxy and sectarianism. Today, when we place so much store by these national ideals, it is good to reflect that they are not precisely modern innovations or matters of convenience.

Motilal Nehru bore the stamp of fervent patriotism, integrity, nationalist pride, courage of conviction and freedom from pettiness in thought and action. It was, thus, but natural that even among his giant contemporaries, he should have been counted as an inspiring leader.

A man of vision and uncompromising ideals, Motilal was the first among the leaders of the Congress to abandon its petitioning policy and to opt for a more positive, direct attack on all that the British government stood for in India.

“Our goal is straight and simple — freedom in substance and not merely in form — by whatever name you call it,” he declared. “National freedom unrestricted and unqualified is the natural craving of the human soul. I do not believe that there is a single Indian who does not love freedom or will not have it.”

An uncompromising and militant nationalist, he sowed the seeds for the demand by his son, Jawaharlal Nehru, in later years, for complete independence.

He said:

“The struggle for freedom once begun must sooner or later have its appointed end, and that can end in no other than achievement of the fullest freedom.”

His words, as much as his personal life, should prove an inspiration for the present generation. He sacrificed everything for the sake of the country. Throwing away a fabulously lucrative legal practice and changing his aristocratic style of living, Motilal Nehru had said:

“My religion is my country and I am prepared to serve it honestly and truthfully with all my heart and soul, through

thick and thin, according to my own lights, unaffected by all religious dogmas in the world."

He declared his faith in social justice and the equality of all men and wanted all social barriers to be demolished, long before they became political slogans. To him, these were cardinal principles, and the right way of thinking.

A broad perspective and a constructive approach to the larger interests of the nation, led him to formulate the Nehru Report, which, for the first time, outlined the democratic base of the country's administration. The Nehru Report was an offshoot of a challenge by Lord Birkenhead to Indian statesmen to produce a constitution for India. It has stood the test of time as an important document in the history of India's constitutional development.

Motilal Nehru's role as parliamentarian, Leader of the Opposition, Congress President and party leader, has left a lasting impress. He adorned whatever position he held with the majesty of his personality as with his intellectual sweep.

It was under his dynamic leadership that the party system was given a well-defined form, for the first time. The present system of parliamentary democracy we have is largely an inheritance from him.

As a lawyer he was unparalleled. His arguments in courts have made legal history. Every Judge and Chief Justice who had the privilege of hearing him, were full of praise for his abilities and talents. An English Chief Justice of the Allahabad High Court has said:

"He had a profusion of gifts. Knowledge came easily to him and as an advocate he had an art of presenting his case in its most attractive form. Every fact fell into its proper place in his narration of the story and was emphasised in just the right degree. He had an exquisite public speaking voice and a charm of manner which made it a pleasure to listen to him."

His talent as a public worker and political leader has already found recognition. When he failed to convert Allahabad's leading daily newspaper, "Leader" to his way of thinking, he quietly went ahead to launch his own newspaper — "Independent" — 1919. He gathered a galaxy of talented journalists from all over the country to start his own paper. "Independent" had a glorious but brief career. Unused to management techniques,

Motilal had to close it down, after sinking huge amounts in trying to keep it alive.

During its brief career the paper made a mark as a vehement critic of corruption, maladministration, and misdemeanour in high places. It was an important vehicle of political education for the people.

In its first issue, he declared:

"The INDEPENDENT has come into existence to lay bare the soul of a nation, of a people ripening into nationhood, of communities merging into a people, of individuals growing into a community.

"Thus alone can the INDEPENDENT fulfil its mission and join President Wilson in saying:

"The select class of mankind are no longer the governors of mankind. The fortunes of mankind are now in the hands of the plain people of the whole world."

Twice president of the Congress, in 1919 (Amritsar) and 1928 (Calcutta), Motilal Nehru distinguished himself in this capacity too.

Against this background of the distinctions attained by him as a lawyer, constitutional expert, crusader for social justice and freedom, it is but appropriate that his 115th birth anniversary should be celebrated as "Lawyers' Day" to remind us of the social obligation to promote and work for the achievement of justice — economic, social and political — for the impoverished masses. The celebration of his birth anniversary should generate the spirit among the members of the legal profession to work for the ideals for which he laboured and sacrificed throughout his illustrious life.

This publication, containing his ideals and thoughts, with appropriate illustrations, should prove inspiring.

A HOMAGE

The vast multitude of people in this country were awakened to a new life in the non-cooperation movement in 1921. This was a kind of revolution unknown in history. The people rose in revolt against the British imperialism under the leadership of that mighty little man, the shepherd of Sabarmati. But in the initial stage, it was not so easy to make the idea of non-cooperation acceptable to many leaders in the Congress. Perhaps, Pandit Motilal Nehru was the only top leader who supported Gandhiji's resolution of non-cooperation in Calcutta Session of the Congress in 1920. As it has been said by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, Pandit Motilal Nehru was the "lion of the legal profession," and accordingly his approach was legal and constitutional. But the Rowlatt Act and Jallianwala Bagh happenings brought out the revolutionary in him. Presiding over the Amritsar Congress in 1919, Motilalji made a stirring speech and asked the moderates to listen to the call of "the lacerated heart of the Punjab."

In modern times, the foundation of Indian nationalism was laid by the Non-cooperation Movement. The people in the remotest corner and region began to feel that they are inseparable from the national stream. Under the Congress new national leadership emerged. The people all over the country had unflinching faith in them. I can imagine, from my own experience, how the name of Motilalji influenced the mass mind in those days. Even now I can recollect how throttled we were when we heard about the events of great sacrifices, made by Pandit Motilal Nehru. They made tremendous influence on us. I remember that whenever young volunteers had to undergo any suffering, they drew inspiration from the fact that persons like Pandit Motilal Nehru who were used to high standard of living had then identified themselves with the people and were sharing their sorrows and sufferings. The Non-cooperation movement meant all sorts of suffering including jail life. As a loving father Pandit Motilal Nehru could not but think how his son who was brought up in comforts would have to undergo a hard life in jail. We can better understand that feeling when we read these lines, written by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru: "Father — I discovered later —

actually tried sleeping on the floor to find out what it was like as he thought that this would be my lot in prison."

But Motilalji did not allow his deep personal feeling to interfere with his devotion to the cause of the country. He never tried to dissuade his son from joining the movement. As a matter of fact while every member had full liberty the Nehru family as a whole headed by Motilalji developed a tradition of dedicated service to the people. Pandit Motilal Nehru's personality, his vision with progressive ideas of modern nationalism, uprightness, secular outlook and patriotic fervour made their contribution in building up a family tradition that has endeared them to the Nation, for all these years. It is noteworthy that consecutively for three generations, Nehru family has provided leadership to the Nation. It is, perhaps, mainly because while leading they have allowed themselves to be led by the people. Their leadership has proved successful, because there is harmony between their thought and action on the one hand and hopes and aspirations of the common man on the other.

On the passing away of Pandit Motilal Nehru on February 6, 1931 Mahatmaji said: "My position is worse than a widow's. By a faithful life, she can appropriate the merits of her husband. I can appropriate nothing. What I have lost through the death of Motilalji is a loss for ever: Rock of ages, cleft for me, let me hide myself in thee."

Nothing can speak more eloquently of the high qualities and contributions of Pandit Motilal Nehru than these words, expressed by the Apostle of Truth.

When we remember this great man and pay homage to his memory, we can derive inspiration to build a New India for which he worked and died. On this occasion let us rededicate ourselves to the cause of the people which was always uppermost in his mind.

EDITORIAL

Pandit Motilal Nehru, a magnanimous leader and a strong-willed statesman with a great sense of humanism influenced the age and time in which he lived. Panditji's place in the history of India's freedom struggle is unique and will inspire generations to come. A towering personality, he combined in himself the best of Indian culture and refinement with firm faith in communal harmony and absolute abhorrence to casteism, religious fanaticism, sectarian passions and any form of narrow-mindedness and selfishness.

Panditji was a giant among galaxy of giants in the profession of law. He was a consummate cross-examiner and it was a pleasure for everyone including his fellow lawyers to hear him argue the most difficult case either on point of law or fact. The strength of his arguments did not lie in eloquence but on keen perception and analytical approach. In his political activities also he was not guided by sentiments but used to come to decisions only after analysing the pros and cons of a problem and once a decision was made there was never turning back.

Panditji as a visionary constitutionalist, envisaged the idea of federalism to strengthen the unity of our country. The Nehru Report was produced in less than three months in response to a challenge thrown by an Englishman to produce an agreed constitution for India. The nature of this Report can be judged from the fact that one of the factors that helped the Constituent Assembly to complete the task of giving to free India its Constitution within a remarkable short time was because the groundwork of the Constitution of free India found place in the Nehru Report itself.

As a great parliamentarian and particularly as a leader of the Swaraj Party in the Central Assembly he innovated certain standards which the Parliament of independent India is striving to follow. The Swaraj Party, under his astute leadership, emerged as the largest party in the Central Legislative Assembly as well as in some Provincial Legislatures. Panditji was the leader of the opposition for nearly six years in the Legislative Assembly. The Central Assembly represented varied and conflicting interests along with nominated officials and Indian mem-

bers who were with the Executives in those days. But with his magnetic personality, high intellect and expertise in constitutional matters Pandit Motilal Nehru was able to muster support from Moderates and Muslim legislators to disapprove the policies of the Government in the larger national interest. His was a decisive voice within his own party.

It is a unique example that the Nehrus contributed the dynamic leadership of three generations as Congress Presidents — Pandit Motilal Nehru, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and Smt. Indira Gandhi. Panditji kept the torch of freedom burning, Jawaharlalji consolidated the freedom and put India in her rightful place in the comity of nations and Smt. Indira Gandhi is leading India to the achievement of great ideals of democracy, secularism and socialism and emancipation of the teeming millions of our country.

We offer our humble tribute on the occasion of the 116th birthday of Pandit Motilal Nehru. The birthday of one of the greatest personalities of India is being celebrated as 'Lawyers Day' in the whole country under the auspices of the 'National Forum of Lawyers and Legal Aid'. This book is an humble attempt to remember his ideals, contributions and sacrifices, so that it acts as an inspiration to the present generation in the national reconstruction process.

In all earnestness, we acknowledge that the Motilal Nehru Birth Centenary Souvenir (1961) and Chablani and Chablani's book Pandit Motilal Nehru were inestimable assistance in the preparation and reproduction of the articles by various eminent men and also other relevant material related to various facets of this great warrior of freedom struggle. The Director and staff of the Nehru Memorial Museum and Library, New Delhi have also extended the fullest cooperation to us in making available material and photographs of Panditji and we express our sincere appreciation for them. Thanks are also due to our organisational staff of the Legal Aid Division of the National Forum of Lawyers and Legal Aid, New Delhi.

We must aim at an India where all are free and have the fullest opportunities of development; where women have ceased to be in bondage, and the rigours of the caste system have disappeared; where there are no privileged classes or communities; where education is free and open to all; where the capitalist and the landlord do not oppress the labourer and the ryot; where labour is respected and well paid, and poverty, the nightmare of the present generation, is a thing of the past. Life will then be worth living in this country...

—Motilal Nehru

We aim at a strong free and democratic India where every citizen has an equal place and full opportunity of growth and service, where present-day inequalities in wealth and status have ceased to be, where our vital impulses are directed to creative and co-operative endeavour. In such an India communalism, separatism, isolation, untouchability, bigotry, and exploitation of man by man have no place, and while religion is free, it is not allowed to interfere with the political and economic aspects of a nation's life.

—Jawaharlal Nehru

Through all the ups and downs of our long history, its cycles of fortune and misfortune, its moments of liberty and bondage, we have never been beggared of our spirit which we see as the quintessential humanness of man. We conceive of a society that is in harmony with itself and its environs of a world that is rid of conflict and busied in the great arts of peace. In our world-view all turbulence ends in order, all conflict ends in resolution, all travail ends in tranquility. And man emerges and lives on for larger purposes. That is our unceasing quest.

—Indira Gandhi

A GREAT PATRIOT

THE FAMILY

There is no record of the history of the family, all the old papers and documents being destroyed in the Mutiny of 1857. The oldest living member of the family is my brother, Pandit Bansi Dhar Nehru, a Government pensioner, who retired from the post of subordinate judge of the first grade in these provinces, some 13 years ago and is now 68 years old. He has furnished the following account, the early part of which is mainly based on family tradition.

Pandit Raj Kaul, the great grandfather of my grandfather was a Sanskrit and Persian scholar of great eminence in Kashmir. He attracted the notice of the Emperor Farrukh Siyyer when the latter was on a visit to Kashmir, and the family migrated to Delhi about 1716. Some villages and a house situated on the canal running through the city were granted in Jagir to Pandit Raj Kaul. From the fact of his residence on the canal (Nahar), he was known as Raj Kaul Nehru, and in the course of time the word "Nehru" came to be regarded as a surname, and was adopted as such by the family.

During the unsettled state of the throne and the country, which followed the assassination of Farrukh Siyyer, the family went through many vicissitudes of fortune, the details of which are not known with any certainty. All that is known is that the last holders of the Jagir, which had then dwindled into zamindari rights in certain lands, were my great grandfather Pandit Mausaram Nehru and his brother Pandit Saheb Ram Nehru.

My grandfather Pandit Lachminarain Nehru was the first vakil of the "Sarkar Company" at the Imperial Court of Delhi. My father, Pandit Ganga Dhar Nehru, was kotwal of Delhi for some time before the Mutiny of 1857. He died at the early age of 34 in 1861 some three months before I was born.

In the maternal line, my great grandfather was the Dewan

of Shamru Ki Begum (The Begum of Dyce Sombre). My grandfather, Pandit Shankar Nath Zutshi, was a famous man of letters at Delhi, and is mentioned by the late Sir Syed Ahmad Khan in his book entitled Asar-us-Sanadid at p. 122.

I am the youngest of the three brothers. The eldest Pandit Bansi Dhar Nehru, already mentioned, is now living in retirement at Mattra (U.P.). The next was Pandit Nandlal Nehru, who served as Dewan in the Khetri State (Rajputana) with great credit for some ten years and in that capacity rendered signal services to the Thaggi and Dacoity Department of the British Government from which he received several kharitas and letters in recognition of his service. On the death of the then Raja, he moved to Allahabad and having qualified as a vakil of the High Court soon made his way to the front ranks of the profession. He died suddenly in the prime of life in 1887.

I was born at Agra on the 6th May, 1861, and was educated at the Government School at Allahabad and Cawnpore and the Muir Central College. I was enrolled as a vakil of the High Court in 1883, and in January, 1896 was admitted to the roll of Advocates by unanimous resolution of the Chief Justice and the Hon'ble Judges then constituting the court. In August, 1909 I was permitted to appear and plead the bar of the Judicial Committee of His Majesty's Privy Council. In December, 1909 I was elected a member of the Legislative Council of His Honour the Lieutenant Governor of the United Provinces by the delegates of the Allahabad Division.



(Motilal Nehru)

July 3, 1916

MY FATHER

JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

It was in Agra on the sixth of May, 1861 that my father was born. But he was a posthumous child as my grandfather had died three months earlier. The burden of the family then fell on my two uncles who were very much older than my father. The older uncle, Bansi Dhar Nehru, soon after entered the judicial department of the British Government and, being appointed successively to various places, was partly cut off from the rest of the family. The younger uncle, Nand Lal Nehru, entered the service of an Indian State and was Diwan of Khetri State in Rajputana for ten years. Later he studied law and settled down as a practising lawyer in Agra. My father lived with him and grew up under his sheltering care. The two were greatly attached to each other and their relation with each other was a strange mixture of the brotherly and the paternal and filial. My father, being the last comer, was of course my grandmother's favourite son, and she was an old lady with a tremendous will of her own who was not accustomed to be ignored.

EDUCATION

My uncle attached himself to the newly established High Court and when this court moved to Allahabad from Agra, the family moved with it. . . . My uncle gradually developed an extensive practice and became one of the leaders of the High Court Bar. Meanwhile my father was going through school and college in Cawnpore and Allahabad. His early education was confined entirely to Persian and Arabic and he only began learning English in his early 'teens. But at that age he was considered to be a good Persian scholar, and knew some Arabic also, and because of this knowledge was treated with respect by much older people. But in spite of this early precocity his school and college career was chiefly notable for his numerous pranks and escapades.

He was very far from being a model pupil and took more interest in games and novel adventures than in study. He was looked upon as one of the leaders of the rowdy element in the college. He was attracted to Western dress and other Western ways at a time when it was uncommon for Indians to take to them except in big cities like Calcutta and Bombay. Though he was a little wild in his behaviour, his English professors were fond of him and often got him out of a scrape. They liked his spirit and he was intelligent, and with an occasional spurt he managed to do fairly well even in class. In later years, long afterwards he used to talk to us of one of these professors, Mr. Harrison, the principal of the Muir Central College at Allahabad, with affection, and had carefully preserved a letter of his, dating from the old student days.

He got through his various university examinations without any special distinction, and then he appeared for his final, the B.A. He had not taken the trouble to work much for it and he was greatly dissatisfied with the way he had done the first paper. Not expecting to pass the examination, as he thought he had spoiled the first paper, he decided to boycott the rest of the examination and he spent his time instead at Taj Mahal. Subsequently his professor sent for him and was very angry with him for he said that he (my father) had done the first paper fairly well and he had been a fool for not appearing for the other papers. Anyhow this ended my father's university career. He never graduated.

He was keen on 'getting on in life and establishing himself in a profession. Naturally he looked to the law as that was the only profession then in India, which offered any opening for talent and prizes for the successful. He also had his brother's example before him. He appeared for the High Court Vakils' examination and not only passed it but topped the list and got a gold medal for it. He had found the subject after his own heart, or rather, he was intent on success in the profession of his choice.

PRACTICE IN LAW

He started practice in the district courts of Cawnpore and, being eager to succeed, worked hard at it and soon got on well. But his love for games and other amusements and diversions continued and still took up part of his time. In particular, he was keen on wrestling and dangals. Cawnpore was famous for these public wrestling matches in those days.

After serving his apprenticeship for three years at Cawnpore, father moved to Allahabad to work in the High Court. Not long after his brother, Pandit Nand Lal, suddenly died. That was a terrible blow for my father; it was a personal loss of a dearly loved brother who had almost been a father to him, and the removal of the head and principal earning member of the family. Henceforward the burden of carrying on a large family mainly fell on his young shoulders.

He plunged into his work, bent on success, and for many months cut himself off from everything else. Nearly all of my uncle's briefs came to him, and as he happened to do well in them the professional success that he so ardently desired soon came his way and brought him both additional work and money. At an early age he had established himself as a successful lawyer and he paid the price for this by becoming more and more a slave to his jealous mistress — the law. He had no time for any other activity, public or private, and even his vacations and holidays were devoted to his legal practice.

The National Congress was just then attracting the attention of the English-knowing middle classes and he visited some of its early sessions and gave it a theoretical allegiance. But in those days he took no great interest in its work. He was too busy with his profession. Besides, he felt unsure of his ground in politics and public affairs; he had paid no great attention to these subjects till then and knew little about them. He had no wish to join any movement or organisation where he would have to play second fiddle. The aggressive spirit of his childhood and early youth had been outwardly curbed, but it had taken a new form, a new will to power. Directed to his profession it brought success and increased his pride and self-reliance. He loved a fight, a struggle against odds and yet, curiously, in those days he avoided the political field. It is true that there was little of fight then in the politics of the National Congress. However, the ground was unfamiliar, and his mind was full of the hard work that his profession involved. He had taken firm grip of the ladder of success and rung by rung he mounted higher, not by any one's favour, but by his own will and intellect.

He was, of course, a nationalist in a vague sense of the word, but he admired Englishmen and their ways. He had a feeling that his own countrymen had fallen low and almost deserved what they had got. And there was just a trace of contempt in his mind for the politicians who talked and talked without doing anything, though he had no idea at all as to what

else they could do. Also there was the thought, born in the pride of his own success, that many — certainly not all — of those who took to politics had been failures in life.

In the evening usually many friends came to visit father and he would relax after the tension of the day and the house would resound with his tremendous laughter. His laugh became famous in Allahabad. Sometimes I would peep at him and his friends from behind a curtain trying to make out what these great big people said to each other. If I was caught in the act I would be dragged out and, rather frightened, made to sit for a while on father's knee. Once I saw him drinking claret or some other red wine. Whisky I knew. I had often seen him and his friends drink it. But the new red stuff filled me with horror and I rushed to my mother to tell her that father was drinking blood.

STRONG AND STERN

I admired father tremendously. He seemed to me the embodiment of strength and courage and cleverness, far above all the other men I saw, and I treasured the hope that when I grew up I would be rather like him. But much as I admired him and loved him I feared him also. I had seen him losing his temper at servants and others and he seemed to me terrible then and I shivered with fright, mixed sometimes with resentment at the treatment of a servant. His temper was indeed an awful thing and even in after years I do not think I ever came across anything to match it in its own line. But, fortunately, he had a strong sense of honour also and an iron will, and he could control himself as a rule. As he grew older this power of control grew and it was very rare for him to indulge in anything like his old temper.

One of my earliest recollections is of this temper, for I was the victim of it. I must have been about five or six then. I noticed one day two fountain-pens on his office table and I looked at them with greed. I argued with myself that father could not require both at the same time and so I helped myself to one of them. Later I found that a mighty search was being made for the lost pen and I grew frightened at what I had done, but I did not confess. The pen was discovered and my guilt proclaimed to the world. Father was very angry and he gave me a tremendous thrashing. Almost blind with pain and mortification at my disgrace I rushed to mother, and for several days various creams and ointments were applied to my aching and quivering little body.



Gangadhar Nehru, father of Motilal Nehru



Motilal Nehru



Swarup Rani Nehru, wife of Motilal Nehru



Motilal Nehru with Swarup Rani Nehru and their son Jawaharlal Nehru in 1895

I do not remember bearing any ill-will towards my father because of this punishment. I think I must have felt that it was a just punishment, though perhaps overdone. But though my admiration and affection for him remained as strong as ever, fear formed a part of them.

VISITS TO EUROPE

Father's visits to Europe (in 1900) led to an internal storm in the Kashmiri Brahman community in India. He refused to perform any *prayashchit* or purification ceremony on his return. Some years previously another Kashmiri Brahman, Pandit Bishan Narayan Dar, who later became a President of the Congress, had gone to England to be called to the Bar. On his return the orthodox members of the community had refused to have anything to do with him and he was outcast, although he performed the *prayashchit* ceremony. This had resulted in the splitting up of the community into two more or less equal halves. Many Kashmiri young men went subsequently to Europe for their studies and on their return joined the reformist section, but only after a formal ceremony of purification. This ceremony itself was a bit of a farce and there was little of religion in it. It merely signified an outward conformity and a submission to the group will. Having done so, each person indulged in all manner of heterodox activities and mixed and fed with non-Brahmans and non-Hindus.

Father went a step further and refused to go through any ceremony or to submit in any way, even outwardly and formally, to a so-called purification. A great deal of heat was generated, chiefly because of father's aggressive and rather disdainful attitude, and ultimately a considerable number of Kashmiris joined father and so a third group was formed. Within a few years these groups gradually merged into one another as ideas changed and the old restrictions fell.

ACTIVE POLITICS

The political situation in India had drawn my father into more active politics and I was pleased at this although I did not agree with his politics. He had, naturally enough, joined the Moderates whom he knew and many of whom were his colleagues in his profession. He presided over a provincial conference in his province and took up a strong line against the Extremists of Bengal and Maharashtra. He also became president of the U.P. Provincial Congress Committee. He was present at Surat

in 1907 when the Congress broke up in disorder and later emerged as a purely moderate group.

A man of strong feelings, strong passions, tremendous pride and great strength of will, he was very far from the moderate type. And yet in 1907 and 1908 and for some years afterwards, he was undoubtedly a moderate of Moderates and he was bitter against the Extremists, though I believe he admired Tilak.

Why was this so? It was natural for him with his grounding in law and constitutionalism to take a lawyer's and a constitutional view of politics. His clear thinking led him to see that hard and extreme words lead nowhere unless they are followed by action appropriate to the language. He saw no effective action in prospect. The swadeshi and boycott movements did not seem to him to carry matters far. And then the background of these movements was a religious nationalism which was alien to his nature. He did not look back to a revival in India of ancient times. He had no sympathy or understanding of them and utterly disliked many old social customs, caste and the like, which he considered reactionary. He looked to the West and felt greatly attracted by Western progress, and thought that this could come through an association with England.

LINE OF ACTION

Having cast his lot with the Moderates, father took an aggressive line. Most of the Extremists, apart from a few leaders in Bengal and Poona, were young men and it irritated him to find that these youngsters dared to go their own way. Impatient and intolerant of opposition, and not suffering people whom he considered fools, gladly, he pitched into them and hit out whenever he could. I remember, I think it was after I left Cambridge, reading an article of him which annoyed me greatly. I wrote him rather an impertinent letter in which I suggested that no doubt the British Government was greatly pleased with his political activities. This was just the kind of suggestion which would make him wild, and he was very angry. He almost thought of asking me to return from England immediately.

Gradually my father had been drifting away from the orthodox Moderate position. His nature rebelled against too much submission and appeal to an authority which ignored us and treated us disdainfully. But the old Extremist leaders did not attract him; their language and methods jarred upon him. The episode of Mrs. Basant's internment and subsequent events influenced him considerably but still he hesitated before definitely

committing himself to a forward line. Often he used to say in those days that moderate tactics were no good, but nothing effective could be done till some solution for the Hindu-Muslim question was found. If this was found then he promised to go ahead with the youngest of us. The adoption by the Congress at Lucknow in 1916 of the Joint Congress-League Scheme, which had been drawn up at a meeting of the All India Congress Committee in our house, pleased him greatly as it opened the way to a joint effort and he was prepared to go ahead then even at the cost of breaking with his old colleagues of the Moderate group.

ASSOCIATION WITH GANDHIJI

The outward change in his politics came about the time of Mrs. Besant's internment and from that time onwards step by step he went ahead, leaving his old Moderate colleagues far behind till the tragic happenings in the Punjab in 1919 finally led him to cut adrift from his old life and his profession, and throw in his lot with the new movement started by Gandhiji.

Gandhiji took the leadership in his first all-India agitation (in 1919). He started the Satyagraha Sabha, the members of which were pledged to disobey the Rowlatt Act, if it was applied to them, as well as other objectionable laws to be specified from time to time. In other words they were to court gaol openly and deliberately.

I was afire with enthusiasm and wanted to join the Satyagraha Sabha immediately. My father was dead against this new idea. He was not in the habit of being swept away by new proposals; he thought carefully of the consequences before he took any fresh step. And the more he thought of the Satyagraha Sabha and its programme, the less he liked it. What good would the gaol-going of a number of individuals do, what pressure could it bring on the Government? Apart from these general considerations, what really moved him was the personal issue. It seemed to him preposterous that I should go to prison. The trek to prison had not then begun and the idea was most repulsive. Father was intensely attached to his children. He was not showy in his affection, but behind his restraint there was a great love.

Father — I discovered later — actually tried sleeping on the floor to find out what it was like, as he thought that this would be my lot in prison.

Gandhiji came to Allahabad at Father's request and they

had long talks at which I was not present. As a result Gandhiji advised me not to precipitate matters or to do anything which might upset father. I was not happy at this, but other events took place in India which changed the whole situation, and the Satyagraha Sabha stopped its activities.

PUNJAB HAPPENINGS

The Punjab happenings and the inquiry into them had a profound effect on father. His whole legal and constitutional foundations were shaken by them and his mind was gradually prepared for that change which was to come a year later. He had already moved far from his old moderate position. Dissatisfied with the leading Moderate newspaper the Leader of Allahabad, he had started another daily, the Independent, from Allahabad early in 1919. This paper met with great success, but from the very beginning it was handicapped by quite an amazing degree of incompetence in the running of it. Almost everybody connected with it — directors, editors, managerial staff — had their share of responsibility for this. I was one of the directors, without the least experience of the job, and the troubles and the squabbles of the paper became quite a nightmare to me. Both my father and I were, however, soon dragged away to the Punjab, and during our long absence the paper deteriorated greatly and became involved in financial difficulties. It never recovered from them, and although it had bright patches in 1920 and 1921, it began to go to pieces as soon as we went to gaol. It expired finally early in 1923.

Father presided over the Amritsar Congress during Christmas 1919. He issued a moving appeal to the Moderate leaders or the Liberals, as they were now calling themselves, to join this session because of the new situation created by the horrors of martial law. "The lacerated heart of the Punjab" called to them, he wrote. Would they not answer that call? But they did not answer it in the way he wanted, and refused to join. Their eyes were on the new reforms that were coming as a result of the Montagu-Chelmsford recommendations. The refusal hurt father and widened the gulf between him and the Liberals.

CONFIDENCE IN DESHBANDHU

My father had a host of acquaintances, and had the gift of laughing his way through them, but he was chary of friendship, and in later years he had grown rather cynical. And yet between him and Deshbandhu the barriers seemed to fall, and they took

each other to heart. My father was more practical and prosaic; he was a great organiser, and he had little of religion in him. He had always been a fighter, ready to receive and give hard blows. Those whom he considered fools he suffered not at all, or at any rate not gladly; and opposition he could not tolerate. The two, my father and Deshbandhu, unlike in some ways as they were, fitted in and made a remarkable and effective combination for the leadership of a party, each in some measure supplying the other's deficiencies. And between the two of them there was absolute confidence, so much so that each had authorised the other to use his name for any statement or declaration, even without previous reference or consultation.

It was this personal factor that went a long way to establish the Swaraj Party firmly and give it strength and prestige in the country. From the earliest days there were fissiparous tendencies in it, for many careerists and opportunists had been drawn into it by the possibilities of personal advancement through the Councils. There were also some genuine moderates in it who were inclined to more cooperation with the Government. As soon as these tendencies appeared on the surface after the elections, they were denounced by the Party leadership. My father declared that he would not hesitate "to cut off a diseased limb" from the Party, and he acted up to this declaration.

CALCUTTA CONGRESS SESSION

My father was to preside over the Calcutta Congress. He was full of the All Parties Conference and of his Report to it and wanted to push this through the Congress. To this he knew that I was not agreeable, because I was not prepared to compromise on the Independence issue, and this irritated him. We did not argue about the matter much, but there was a definite feeling of mental conflict between us, an attempt to pull different ways. Differences of opinion we had often had before, vital differences which had kept us in different political camps. But I do not think that on any previous or subsequent occasion the tension had been so great. Both of us were rather unhappy about it. In Calcutta matters came to this, that my father made it known that if he could not have his way in the Congress — that is, if he could not have a majority for the resolution in favour of the All Parties Report — he would refuse to preside over the Congress. That was a perfectly reasonable and constitutional course to adopt.

The main resolution of the Congress, as it was finally adopted,

accepted the All Parties Report but intimated that if the British Government did not agree to that constitution within a year, the Congress would revert to Independence. It was an offer of a year's grace and a polite ultimatum. The resolution was no doubt a come-down from the ideal of Independence, for the All Parties Report did not even ask for full Dominion Status. And yet it was probably a wise resolution in the sense that it prevented a split when no one was ready for it, and kept the Congress together for the struggle that began in 1930.

PRISON AND POOR HEALTH

On his return from Bombay father was arrested on June 30th and Syed Mahmud was arrested with him. They were arrested as acting-President and Secretary of the Working Committee, which was declared unlawful. Both of them were sentenced to six months. My father's arrest was probably due to his having issued a statement defining the duties of a soldier or policeman in the event of an order to fire on civil populations being given. The statement was strictly a legal affair, and contained the present British Indian law on this point. Nevertheless, it was considered a provocative and dangerous document.

Father was in very poor health when he came to gaol, and the conditions in which he was kept there were of extreme discomfort. This was not intentional on the part of the Government, for they were prepared to do what they could to lessen those discomforts. But they could not do much in Naini prison. Four of us were now crowded together in the four tiny cells of my barrack. It was suggested by the superintendent of the prison that father might be kept in some other part of the gaol where he might have a little more room, but we preferred to be together, so that some of us could attend personally to his comforts.

The monsoon was just beginning and it was not particularly easy to keep perfectly dry even inside the cells, for the rainwater came through the roof occasionally and dripped in various places. At night it was always a problem where to put father's bed, in the little 10 ft. by 5 ft. veranda attached to our cell, in order to avoid the rain. Sometimes he had fever. The gaol authorities ultimately decided to build an additional veranda, a fine broad one, attached to our cell. This veranda was built and it was a great improvement, but father did not profit by it much, as he was discharged soon after it was ready. Those of us who continued to live in that barrack took full advantage of it later.

Towards the end of July there was a great deal of talk about Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and Mr. M.R. Jayakar, endeavouring to bring about peace between the Congress and the Government. We read about it in a daily newspaper, which was supplied as a special favour to father. We read in this paper the correspondence that had passed between the Viceroy, Lord Irwin, and Messrs. Sapru and Jayakar, and then we learnt that the so-called 'peacemakers' had visited Gandhiji. We did not know at all what had induced them to take this initiative or what they were driving at. Later we were told by them that they had been encouraged to proceed in the matter because of a brief statement that father had agreed to in Bombay a few days before his arrest. The statement had been drafted by Mr. Slocombe (a correspondent of the London Daily Herald then in India) after a conversation with my father, and had been approved by the latter. This statement considered the possibility of the Congress withdrawing the civil disobedience campaign, subject to the Government agreeing to a number of conditions.

LAST DAYS

My father was in Calcutta and was far from well, but news of Kamla's arrest and conviction shook him up, and he decided to return to Allahabad. He sent on my sister Krishna immediately to Allahabad, and followed himself, with the rest of the family, a few days later. On the 12th of January he came to see me in Naini. I saw him after nearly two months, and I had a shock which I could conceal with difficulty. He seemed to be unaware of the dismay that his appearance had produced in me, and told me that he was much better than he had lately been in Calcutta. His face was swollen up, and he seemed to think that this was due to some temporary cause.

That face of his haunted me. It was so utterly unlike him. For the first time a fear began to creep in my mind that there was real danger for him ahead. I had always associated him with strength and health, and I could not think of death in connection with him. He had always laughed at the idea of death, made fun of it, and told us that he proposed to live for a further long term of years. Laterly I had noticed that whenever an old friend of his youth died, he had a sense of loneliness, of being left by himself in strange company, and even a hint of an approaching end. But generally this mood passed and his overflowing vitality asserted itself, and we of his family had grown so used to his rich personality and the all-embracing

warmth of his affection, that it was difficult for us to think of the world without him.

On the morning of February 4th (1931) he seemed to be a little better, and it was decided to take advantage of this and remove him to Lucknow, where there were facilities for deep X-ray treatment which Allahabad did not possess. That very day we took him by car, Gandhiji and a large party following us. We went slowly, but he was nevertheless exhausted. The next day he seemed to be getting over the fatigue, and yet there were some disquieting symptoms. Early next morning, February 6th, I was watching by his bedside. He had had a troublesome and restless night; suddenly I noticed that his face grew calm and the sense of struggle vanished from it. I thought that he had fallen asleep, and I was glad of it. But my mother's perceptions were keener, and she uttered a cry, I turned to her and begged her not to disturb him as he had fallen asleep. But that sleep was his last long sleep, and from it there was no awakening.

*(Extracts from Jawaharlal Nehru's
Autobiography)*

A MAKER OF MODERN INDIA*

C.F. ANDREWS

Pandit Motilal Nehru belonged to that older generation of great men in India, of which Rabindranath Tagore is today one of the very few now living. It is a curious fact that Motilal's birthday came on exactly the same day of the year and month as that of the poet: for he was born on May 6, 1861.

Among his contemporaries, in Allahabad, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya comes nearest to him in age. Dr. Brajendranath Seal, that giant of massive learning in Bengal, who has just passed away, was somewhat younger. Sir P.C. Roy, the renowned chemist, is about the same age as Rabindranath Tagore, Sir J.C. Bose was a contemporary, Sir Nilratan Sarkar, who is still with us, belongs to the same generation. Lala Lajpat Rai in the Punjab was younger. Many names might be recalled in other provinces, but space will hardly allot. What I have tried to point out is that the "sixties" of last century produced a larger number of eminent men than the years that followed. It must not be forgotten that Mahatma Gandhi himself comes just within the period.

Kashmiri Brahmans, to which class Pandit Motilal Nehru belonged, are well known all over the north of India both for their intellectual powers and fine appearance. They are, by birth, what may truly be called an aristocratic race, and easily recognised as such. Motilal was typical of this distinguished class and in his old age he gained the reputation of being the "aristocratic of the Assembly." His spotless khaddar dress, with his white Kashmiri shawl, suited him perfectly, and his portrait is rightly given the place of honour in his son's Autobiography. The fine features — which I have mentioned — and the fair

* Extract from "Great Men of India", edited by L.P. Rushbrook Williams 1939, pp. 339-45.

complexion run through the whole family, and have descended from father to son.

EARLY LIFE

Although, as a boy, Motilal took little interest in his school and college studies he was from an early age keenly interested in the subject of law. He came out first as "Gold Medalist" in the High Court Vakils' examination and showed at once his marked ability. His father had died three months before he was born, so that he never knew what it was to have a father. But his elder brother, Nandlal, who was much older than himself, took the place of a father towards him during his school and college days and afterwards introduced him into his own practice at the Bar. This brother, however, died very early in Motilal's legal career and thus he was soon thrown upon his own resources.

According to the immemorial custom of India, Motilal was now obliged to bear the burden of all the members of the family who were settled in Allahabad. This meant very hard work at his legal profession, from morning to night, building up his practice. But he thoroughly enjoyed it and very rapidly climbed the ladder which led to success.

All the facts which I have thus briefly related are to be found in the remarkable Autobiography written by his son, Jawaharlal, who was for many years his only child. Much later in life two daughters were also born to him, and these three made up his family. But under the same roof there were a large number of cousins and near relatives, who formed a joint family together in the spacious house called Anand Bhavan.

FIRST MEETING

It was there, at Anand Bhavan, that I first met Motilal Nehru. A family residence of this type is like the ancestral house of a clan in the Highlands of Scotland. Everyone who is a near relative, and also the servants who grow up in it, regard themselves as members of the joint family. The memory of my first meeting with Pandit Motilal Nehru is very dim today; but I can easily picture the house where he lived and his very handsome appearance. Delhi and Allahabad were closely associated in their intellectual life in those times. There was a close fellowship also between Moslems and Hindus within the different intellectual groups. The Common Urdu language, in which very great pride was taken by both Hindus and Moslems, bound them

together. The Western culture, which had come also into fashion, was another link common to this very small circle of English-educated people. The members of leading families met continually, especially at marriages. My own educational work soon brought me into touch with Allahabad and also with Anand Bhavan.

Motilal Nehru was from the first quite lavish in his hospitality. More and more he had adopted, after each visit to Europe, the expensive standard of living common in the West. Exceedingly foolish stories about his Western habits were spread widely over the north of India, which were ridiculous to those who knew him in his own house; for whatever he did in this direction, as events proved, was merely on the surface, and could be thrown off at a moment's notice. He frankly admired the character of the Englishmen he met who had been trained in the English public schools. Therefore, he sent his only son to Harrow, and never regretted that action. But all through his life he was far too deeply wedded to his own country and its traditions to make him ever forget his birthright.

MARTIAL LAW

When I first came to know him intimately was in the autumn of 1919 at Amritsar and Lahore, where we met together during the first days of the Congress Enquiry into the Punjab disturbances and the acts which had been committed under martial law.

His son, Jawaharlal Nehru, had come up alone, in the first instance, immediately after martial law had been withdrawn and the entry into the Punjab had become possible. We had lived together for some time at Harkishen Lal's house in Lahore before any one else arrived. Each day, when we came back from one disturbed area after another, we used to compare notes in the evening. Then Motilal Nehru himself came, as soon as he was free from his engagements. Mahatma Gandhi soon followed, when the order against him was withdrawn. It was painful to witness how shock after shock went home, when they both examined, as trained lawyers, the evidence which we put before them. Some of the worst things that were done under martial law were not done in Amritsar or in Lahore, but in the Gujranwala district, in villages whose names even were quite unknown. It was a lesson that I never forget to notice how very carefully they sifted the evidence, and at once put aside as untrustworthy all that I had collected, at second-hand, on hearsay only.

Long before this Enquiry was over, the more urgent call suddenly came to me to go out to Kenya and South Africa. I was very sorry to go away, but before I left the Punjab a golden opportunity had been given me of seeing at first-hand those two leaders of India, as they then were, closely associated together in this common investigation on behalf of those who had suffered under martial law.

GREAT CHANGE

That memorable year 1919, in Indian History, changed once and for all the mode of life of Pandit Motilal Nehru. Before this time, as we have seen, he had made some of his closest friends in Europe and also among the ruling classes in India who were British by race and tradition. He greatly admired that tradition, while holding himself free to criticise it. He had also many friends among the aristocracy of India. His whole mind had been steeped in law and constitutional government. Though he had been for some time a member of the Congress, he had always represented the Right rather than the Left. But Amritsar shook the very foundations of the faith on which he had built up his life hitherto; and when he presided over the National Congress, which was held at Amritsar that very year, 1919, he felt that the parting of the ways had come between him and his old liberal friends. Then, when at last the call came to join the non-cooperation movement, under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi, he was fully prepared to accept it. He did this slowly and deliberately, realising all the consequences which it involved.

He would have been the first to acknowledge that, in his own home, there were no less than men — who were eager to help him to make this great decision to join Mahatma Gandhi. Then, as soon as he had made it, the whole family became united. Jawaharlal's mother and wife and daughter took part in the struggle side by side with Motilal Nehru himself and his son.

Yet there was a marked difference from the very first that soon revealed itself. Motilal Nehru, as I have just said, was quite obviously inclined to the Right in all his actions and decisions. Even after he had joined the Non-cooperation Movement this continued. So, after the first flush of the new venture of non-cooperation was over and it became logically evident to him that he could win more power by entering the Central Legislative Assembly, he was prepared to do this along with his great friend C.R. Das of Bengal. He was thus led materially to differ from Mahatma Gandhi. Those who followed the latter were called

no-changers. As a parallel organisation, the Swaraj Party was formed by Motilal Nehru and C.R. Das. The parliamentary methods of obstruction, which Parnell and his Irishmen had so brilliantly tried out at Westminster, were put into execution at Delhi.

MEETING AT BOMBAY

The next time I met Pandit Motilal Nehru was at Juhu, near Bombay, where Gandhi was recovering from his very serious operation in the Sassoon Hospital at Poona. He came and stayed at Juhu for some time in order to be near Mahatmaji and talk things over and I had many opportunities of seeing the lighter side of his character as the two leaders together made great fun of one another. Mahatmaji was convalescent and recovering health. He was thus in a joking mood with everyone.

The whole Nehru family was in residence at Juhu during those extraordinary days, while Motilal and Gandhi talked out — as it seemed to me, almost interminably — the pros and cons of “Council Entry”. Neither convinced the other; but, meanwhile, in the intervals between these long conversations, I had got to know Pandit Motilal Nehru very much better than I had ever done before. I was also able to witness and appreciate his deep admiration for Mahatma Gandhi as a man. As a “Mahatma” he was far less interested in him, but that made everything between them more human. He would chaff Gandhi mercilessly and nothing pleased him better. I wish I could remember some of the jokes, which were of a very elementary character, but they have quite passed from me. Just one I recollect, how he called Mahatma Gandhi “a bit of dandy” because of his spotless khaddar! Behind all the merriment, however, was a firmness on both sides which became at times crucially painful because the two minds, so strongly dissimilar, would not always work together. Yet the affection between them became all the deeper because of their very differences.

STRONG PERSONALITY

The portrait drawn by Jawaharlal of his father is one of the finest descriptions in his Autobiography. “There was in him,” he writes, “a strength of personality and a measure of kingliness. In any gathering where he was present he would inevitably be the centre and the hub. Whatever the place he sat at table, it would become, as an eminent English judge said later, the head of the table. He was neither meek nor mild. Consciously im-

perious, he created great loyalty as well as bitter opposition. It was difficult to feel neutral about him; one had to like him or dislike him. With a broad forehead, tight lips, and a determined chin he had a marked resemblance to the busts of the Roman Emperors in the museums in Italy. There was a magnificence about him and a grand manner, which is sadly to seek in this world of today.

"I remember," he adds, "showing Gandhiji a photograph of him, where he had no moustache, and till then Gandhiji had always seen him with a fine moustache, he startled almost on seeing this photograph and gazed long upon it; for the absence of the moustache brought out the hardness of the mouth and chin; and he said with a somewhat dry smile that now he realised what he had to contend against. The face was softened, however, by the eyes and by the lines that frequent laughter had made. But sometimes the eyes glittered."

In all my own memories of him this gentler side predominated and I remember him chiefly by his lavish fund of humour and merriment especially with Gandhiji himself. Yet no one admired Gandhi more than Motilal Nehru. "That humble and lonely figure," he wrote about him, "standing erect, on the firm footholds of faith unshakable and strength unconquerable, continues to send out to his countrymen his message of sacrifice and suffering for the Motherland."

On other later occasions it has been my privilege to see these two together, each great in his own way, but strongly dissimilar; and it has made me understand more clearly how this affection for Mahatma Gandhi has descended from father to son. Indeed, the whole Nehru family has joined in it.

COUNCIL ENTRY

The great event in the earlier days of Non-cooperation, for which Pandit Motilal Nehru and Das were responsible, became known as "Council Entry." They had argued out to the bitter end with Mahatmaji the value of the movement.

At last Mahatmaji gave way; and at the next elections the Swaraj Party, as it was called, was fully organised and everywhere carried the polls. When Motilal Nehru was chosen to be leader of the opposition in the Assembly, as the head of the Swaraj Party, he felt himself once more entirely in his own element. He was no longer like a fish out of water. His whole legal training and his knowledge of assemblies had all along made him anxious to engage in a battle royal with the

Imperial Government, using its own weapons to defeat it. He was quite certain that he could bring it down to its knees.

In this opinion he was more or less justified; for the Government suffered outwardly defeat at his hands. Indeed, on all the larger issues, it could only rely on its own official and nominated members, and these, by themselves, were not sufficient to form a majority. But his triumphs proved to be Pyrrhic victories after all, because as soon as any Government measure was defeated it was at once certificated by the Viceroy. There was also a majority ready in the Upper House to reverse the decision of the Assembly.

A subtle danger, meanwhile, attacked the Swaraj Party. For every possible inducement was given to its members to serve on one Committee after another, or to take this post or that, bringing certain emoluments with them. When these were accepted, the full force of a revolutionary method of procedure was continually frustrated.

During these difficult years, Motilal undertook almost alone the immensely arduous task of drawing up a form of constitution by which India should have full Dominion Status within the British Commonwealth. His son, Jawaharlal, could not endure the limited terms on which this constitution was being framed, independence was the goal. A considerable amount of friction arose between father and son on this issue and a compromise was reached at last with great difficulty, whereby the offer to accept this "Dominion Status" constitution would expire at the end of the year 1929.

IMPRISONMENT AND ILLNESS

It will not be possible to write much about the later years of his life during which he had to suffer imprisonment for taking an active part in the Civil Resistance Movement along with many other members of his family. Long before he took part in the struggle he had been afflicted for very many years with an acute form of asthma, which caused him great physical pain and put a severe strain upon his heart. But his utterly resolute temperament would not allow him for a moment to stand by while others suffered, even though he was already to all intents and purposes an invalid and had reached his 70th year.

In the jail, his illness rapidly grew worse, and it was obvious that prison life was doing him untold injury, because he could get no proper treatment for his asthma and heart trouble under jail conditions. Yet he became immediately angry if anyone suggested that he should be released because of his infirmities. He

went to the length of sending a telegram to the Viceroy, Lord Irwin, saying that he did not wish to claim any exemption. But on the doctors' imperative orders he was discharged after exactly ten weeks' imprisonment.

Then came the fifth arrest of his only son, Jawaharlal. The old father pulled himself together and declared to every one present that he was going to be ill no longer. For a time his indomitable spirit prevailed; but after a short period the blood came back into his sputum in greater quantities than ever. Therefore, he was urged to go to Calcutta for the purpose of taking a sea voyage along with a friend who was a doctor; but his condition so quickly grew worse that he could not make his journey any further than Calcutta. Yet even then his will was quite unconquerable, and he carried forward every part of his civil resistance just as before.

DEATH IN 1931

He returned to Allahabad, and his son Jawaharlal was discharged a little while before the others in order to be with him. Mahatma Gandhi had also been discharged at Yeravda and many others among the Congress leaders. These came to Allahabad and were able to meet him, one by one, for the last time before his death.

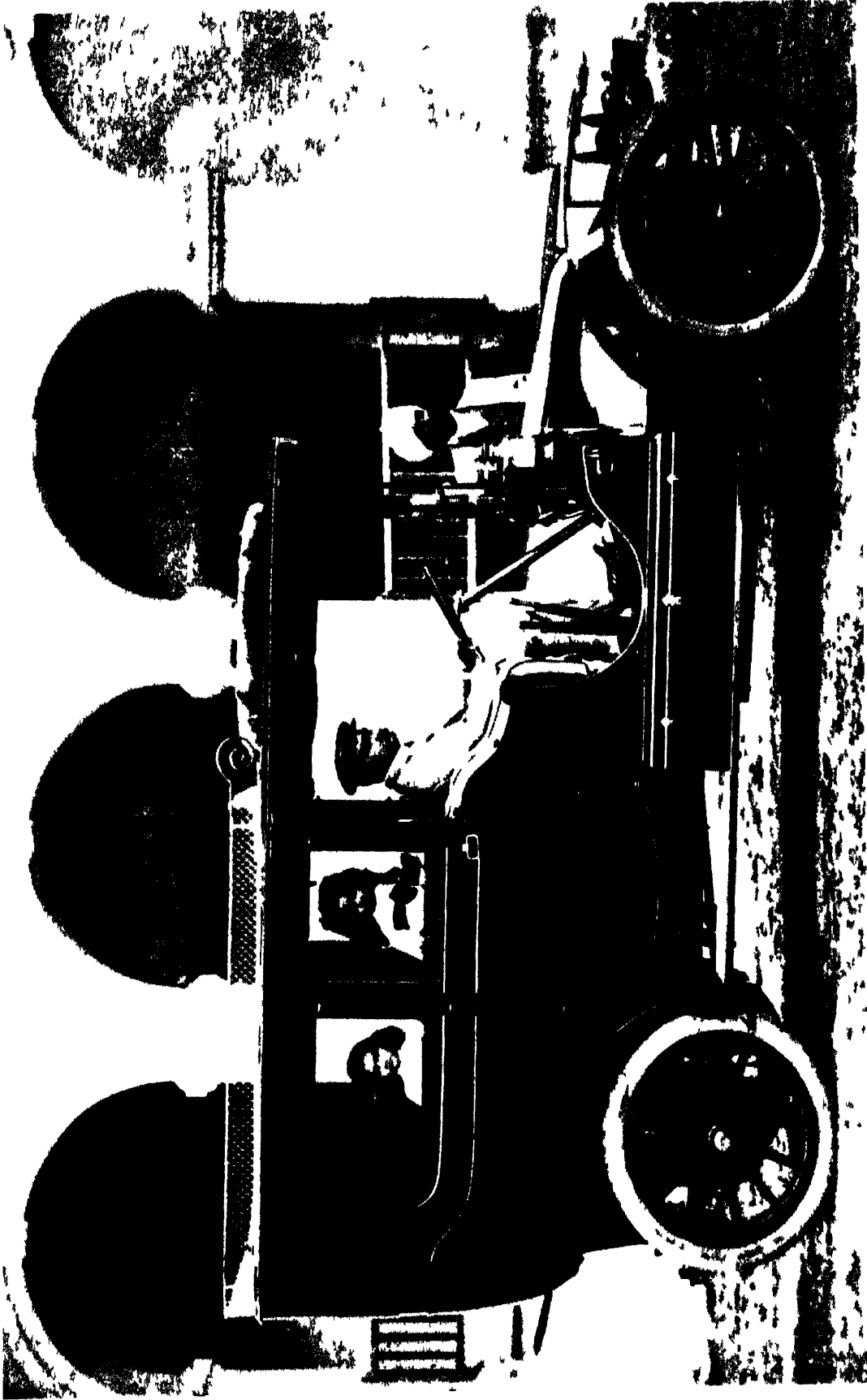
"I am going soon" he said to Mahatma Gandhi "and I shall not be here to see Swaraj. But I know that you have won it."

The end came on February 6th. For many millions, in every part of India, it seemed as if a dear personal friend had been taken away from them. His son writes:

"I was dazed all that day, hardly realising what had happened, and a succession of events and large crowds kept me from thinking. Great crowds in Lucknow gathered together at brief notice — the swift dash from Lucknow to Allahabad sitting by the body, wrapped in our national flag, and with a big flag flying above — the arrival at Allahabad, and the huge crowds that had gathered for miles to pay homage to his memory. There were some ceremonies at home, and then the last journey to the Ganga with a mighty concourse of people. As evening fell on the river bank on that winter day, the great flames leapt up and consumed that body which had meant so much to us, who were close to him, as well as to millions in India. Gandhiji said a few moving words to the multitude and then all of us crept silently home. The stars were out and shining brightly when we returned, lonely and desolate."



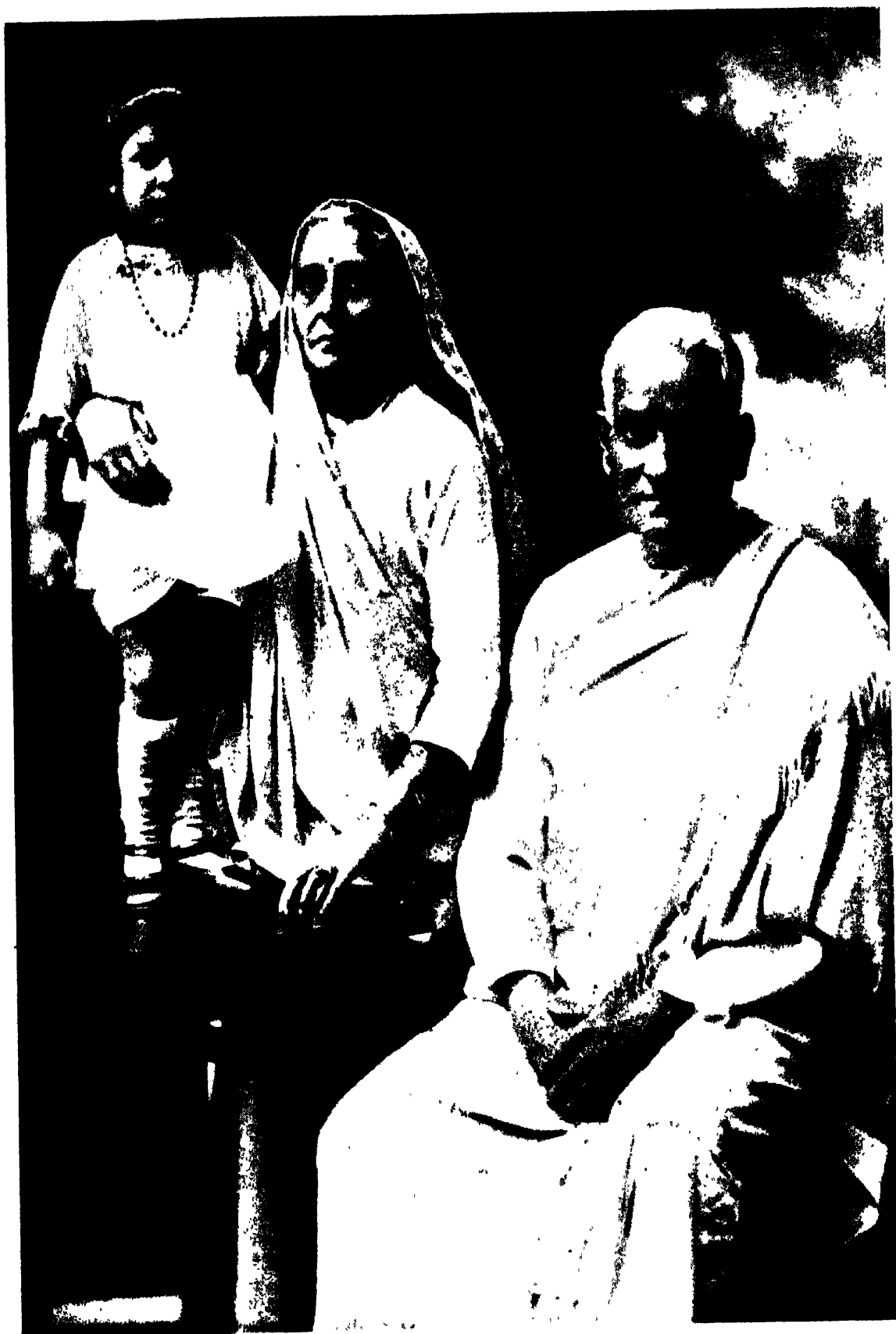
Motilal Nehru visited England in 1909 when Jawaharlal Nehru was studying at Cambridge
Picture shows (from left) Krishna Nehru, Swarup Rani Nehru, Motilal Nehru, Sarup Kumari
Nehru (Vijayalakshmi) and Jawaharlal Nehru



Motilal Nehru on wheel in his car with Sarup Kumari Nehru and another child



Father and son — Motilal Nehru and Jawaharlal Nehru — as outgoing and incoming Presidents of the Congress at its Lahore session in 1929



Motilal Nehru with Swarup Rani Nehru and Chandralekha

Messages came pouring in from every side — from those who had been his most stalwart opponents in the Assembly, from the wart opponents in the Assembly, from the Viceroy and Lady Irwin, as well as from those dear companions who had stood side by side with him in the civil resistance campaign.

“This tremendous volume of goodwill and sympathy” wrote Nehru, “took away somewhat the sting from our sorrow; but it was, above all, the wonderfully soothing and healing presence of Gandhiji that helped my mother and all of us to face that crisis in our lives.”

Looking back after all these years, it has now become evident to thinking men all over the world that the good fight which Motilal Nehru fought was carried through to the end with a chivalry and courtesy towards his opponents that made his cause truly great and noble. His name is honoured today in India, not only by his fellow countrymen, but also by every European. In his own career, as a statesman he stands out more prominently than ever, as one who brought the debates of the Central Assembly at Delhi to a higher parliamentary level than has ever been reached before or since. Certainly no one has ever been so great as he, as Leader of the Opposition. In this, and in a thousand other ways, he has been one of the “Makers of Modern India.”

REMINISCENCE

DR. RAJENDRA PRASAD

It was in 1920 that I got acquainted with Pandit Motilal Nehru for the first time. Before that I had only seen him from a distance, once, for example, at Allahabad when a meeting of the All India Congress Committee was held at his house and which I attended as a member of the A.I.C.C.

Strange as it may sound, it was not politics but professional work which brought us together in the beginning. There was a law suit involving a large property in which Pandit Motilal appeared for one of the parties and I acted as one of his juniors. It was a celebrated case in which some of the most distinguished lawyers of the country acted on one side or the other. Men like the late S. Srinivasa Ayyangar of Madras, the late Deshbandhu Chittaranjan Das, Shri Varadachari and the late Shri N.N. Sircar were engaged in it. This contact gave me an opportunity of coming near to Pandit Motilal Nehru and later on as a result of our common political activities, this acquaintance developed into a close relationship.

The case I have referred to synchronised with a spurt in the Congress activities. The Amritsar session of the Congress was held, as was usual in those days, in the last week of December 1919. Pandit Motilal Nehru presided over it. I could not attend the Congress as I was getting ready for the case which was fixed to open on the 2nd January 1920. We were defendants and Pt. Motilal, therefore, could afford to come a little later and the work was done in the meantime by Shri N.N. Sircar. Pt. Motilal came sometime in January and from that time right up to October 1920 when the hearing closed he was in Arrah. I was also there. I had therefore opportunity of coming into contact with him almost every day and after court hours and whenever we had any leisure we used to talk about politics also which had become rather serious business on account of

the Rowlatt Agitation and the subsequent Jalianwalla Bagh tragedy. I found that he was not only a lawyer of very high order but also very hard-working and thorough in his preparation of the work. He was a very astute cross-examiner and having had long and varied experience of big suits in which big Taluqdaries and Zamindaries were involved, he knew how to deal with such big and complicated issues. In cross-examination he would go step by step insinuating without allowing the witness to understand or realise the implication of his own answers. He could also understand the weaknesses and strong points of a witness and had an uncanny way of getting admissions to which witnesses under his cross-examination were led step by step.

I remember one very funny incident. There was a Maharaja who was in the witness-box. He was known to Panditji and had been his client but this time he was to be cross-examined by him. He did not appear in Court but we had to go to his palace as he was to be examined by a Commission. Before the actual work of the Commission started, the Maharaja and Panditji talked like old friends and the Maharaja felt assured that in the hands of his old lawyer he was quite safe although the lawyer was appearing on the opposite side this time. The Maharaja unfortunately happened to make a mis-statement which was contradicted by some letter of his which he had written to somebody but about which he was sure in his own mind that it could not have reached our client. Panditji knew this but we did not have the letter. We had, however, an embossed envelope of the Maharaja. There was nothing in the envelope but he stuck it in his pocket in a flaunting way exhibiting just a portion of it which the Maharaja could not fail to notice. The Maharaja became afraid that he would be exposed and his letter would be produced. So, when Panditji started his cross-examination he went on putting some questions and while doing so he put his hand into his pocket just to show as if he was taking out the envelope and going to put it to the Maharaja to show the falsehood of his statement. The witness almost collapsed and made admissions which were needed. There was nothing wrong and dishonest about it. Pt. Motilal did not utter or say one word to suggest that he had that letter in his possession but the mere presence of the envelope which was an empty one did the trick.

In arguing, he would proceed slowly, deliberately, point by point and build up his case on the basis of facts which would become irrefutable. He was not a flashy orator nor did his arguments carry the court by storm of his oratory but slowly and

gradually he built up a case which was complete and unanswerable. On the other side, the other lawyers whom I have mentioned were very distinguished persons and each was a supreme master of the art in his own way and in his own personality. I had, therefore, the good fortune of coming rather in close contact with the best legal minds of the country. Incidentally, this happened to be my last case as a lawyer because even while this case was being heard in court, the Non-cooperation Resolution of the Congress was passed at a special session at Calcutta.

The Calcutta session was essentially an emergency one, which had been necessitated on account of the great excitement in the country as a result of the Rowlatt Act and subsequent atrocities in the Punjab. Pandit Motilal Nehru and Deshbandhu Chittaranjan Das were both very closely and intimately connected with the inquiries which the Congress had made into what came to be known as the 'Punjab atrocities' which included the Jalianwalla Bagh tragedy and the various kinds of humiliations and tortures to which people in different parts of Punjab had been made to submit. The Non-cooperation Movement had in fact as one of its origins these Punjab atrocities, the other being the wrong done to the Khilafat by the British Government which roused sentiments of the Muslims to fever point, and a large number of Hindus under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi joined the Muslims in the Khilafat Movement. A special session of the Congress was convened at Calcutta under the presidency of Lala Lajpat Rai and it was from Arrah that both Pandit Motilal Nehru and Deshbandhu Das went to attend that Congress. They could absent themselves for a few days as Shri N.N. Sircar was engaged in arguing the case on behalf of one of the parties. I could not go because I was assisting him in the argument. I may mention that I came to know Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, although I had heard his name before, for the first time at the Railway Station at Arrah. He was going to Calcutta for the Congress and Pandit Motilal Nehru and Deshbandhu Das, I believe, travelled by the same train, joining it at Arrah.

Pandit Motilal Nehru used to live in a very high style as anyone who had the opportunity of seeing him could say. I saw him living in that style in Arrah for those ten months. He went to Calcutta in the same style. He travelled not only first class but got a whole first class compartment reserved for himself. He had already come in close contact with Mahatma Gandhi in connection with the inquiries in the Punjab atrocities and other-

wise. As far as I know, he had not fully made up his mind about the practicability of the programme of non-violent non-cooperation which was already being discussed and which had in fact been already adopted at some Khilafat conferences and Provincial Congress conferences like those of Gujarat and Bihar. I was not present in Calcutta and so I do not know how the change occurred but he actually supported the resolution which Mahatma Gandhi moved and became a staunch advocate of it with all his ability and fervour. On his return to Arrah he stayed there for nearly a month in connection with the case. I found a great change in his life and he was constantly talking of what was to be done to make the Movement successful. When the case ended, he went to Allahabad and I also became free.

A short time thereafter a meeting of the A.I.C.C. was held, I believe, at Bombay to consider the necessary steps for giving effect to the Calcutta resolution and I started from Patna and found Pandit Motilal and Shri Jawaharlal joining the same train at the Cheoki Station. I used to travel third after my contact with Mahatma Gandhi and so I had a third class ticket for Bombay. Panditji had given up the first class reserved compartment, and had taken a simple ticket for second class. I met him on the platform and he asked me in what class I was. I told him that I was travelling in a third class compartment. He said, 'Let us come to a compromise. I have come down from the first to the second class, you come up from the third to the second and let us travel together.' So we did. I found him a completely changed man. This is only typical of the great change which suddenly came in his life. While we were sitting in the compartment talking about something, we saw Jawaharlal passing on the platform. He was travelling third. Panditji turned round to me and said: 'Look at this boy, he is travelling third like you. This is a time when he should be enjoying himself but he has given up everything and has become a Sadhu'. I saw drops of tears in his eyes. I at once felt that I was in the presence of a great man whom I had known as a great lawyer but whom now I knew as a great patriot who could sacrifice everything for the country.

This intimate relationship which began, as it were, in a twinkling of an eye, lasted for the rest of his life. From that time till his death I had innumerable occasions to come in contact with him, to be with him at meetings, in private consultations and in other ways. His contributions to debates at the sessions of the Congress and the A.I.C.C. used to be marked for

the same kind of solid thoroughness which characterised his arguments in courts and there were occasions when he flared up if there was anything said which touched him to the quick.

One of the items in the non-cooperation programme was the boycott of legislatures which meant that those who followed the Congress lead should neither vote nor stand as candidates for election to any legislature — Central or Provincial. The first elections under the Reforms Act of 1920 came soon after the Non-cooperation resolution was passed and so Congressmen did not seek election and the vast electorate also abstained on a large scale from voting. The whole Non-cooperation movement gained much momentum in 1920-21 and the Government's reaction to it was severe repression including imprisonment of most of the leaders and thousands and thousands of Congressmen and women. Early in 1922 Mahatma Gandhi was also tried for sedition and sentenced to six years' imprisonment. As the sentences of most of the leaders expired, they came out one after another and in the latter half of 1922 a controversy arose as to whether the non-cooperation programme should be altered by withdrawing the item of boycott of legislatures. The whole Congress organisation became divided into two groups nicknamed as "Changers" and "No-changers". Deshbandhu Chittaranjan Das and Pandit Motilal Nehru were the leaders of the 'Changers'. Shri Rajagopalachari and Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel were the leaders of 'No-changers'. There was a trial of strength between the two groups at the annual session of the Congress at Gaya in which the 'No-changers' were successful. Deshbandhu Das and Pandit Motilal then formed a party within the Congress named the Swarajya Party. This controversy continued for some years until it was settled by a compromise when Mahatma Gandhi came out of prison.

It so happened that I was a 'No-changer'. In the heat of controversy we very often say and do things which are considered unnecessary if not undesirable in calmer moments, and this controversy was no exception. But in spite of the fact that I belonged to the opposite group Pandit Motilal's attitude towards me continued unaltered and when I look back upon those days I can see how noble and great he was. When later the Congress permitted its members to participate in elections but did not require them to do so, if they wished not to, elections were contested by the Swarajya Party and the 'No-changers' as a body did not take any active part in them. Panditji, however, asked me to help him in the campaign to get Swarajya Party

men elected which I did out of respect for him and in gratitude for this signal mark of confidence.

Pandit Motilal's work in the Central Legislative Assembly was remarkable not only for the contributions he made but even more for the consummate skill with which he managed not only the Congress party but other parties which had different and sometimes conflicting viewpoints but which joined in standing up against the Government on crucial matters. But as I was not in the Assembly, it will be for others who worked with him there to speak from personal knowledge. It was my privilege to live with him during the Civil Disobedience phase of the Movement in 1930. It so happened that Shri Jawaharlal Nehru was the President of the Congress and was in prison and Pandit Motilal Nehru who had been the President before him was left free for some time by the Government. He took up the work of the Congress once again as its President. Shri Sri Prakasa was the Secretary of the Congress but he too was in prison and as I had somehow escaped the Government attention for some months, I was carrying on the work under Panditji's direction. I used, therefore, to spend two or three days in the week with him at Allahabad and the remaining days in touring Bihar and other places. After leaving him alone for some months the Government found that the Movement was not coming under control, and, therefore, arrested him and sent him to prison. As soon as he was arrested, I felt my time was also up and indeed three or four days later I was also arrested. But both of us were given only 6 months in the first instance, with the result that we were both free and were working together again towards the end of the year. We started the work again in the same way. He was keeping very bad health. I found him work day and night, keeping late nights, reading papers, issuing instructions, dictating correspondence, etc. etc.

As I have said above I used to spend a good part of the week with him at Allahabad and the rest between Patna and Allahabad. I saw how his health ebbed away inch by inch and a time approached when serious doubts began to be entertained about his recovery. All kind of treatment was tried including Ayurvedic treatment by a distinguished Kaviraj of Calcutta. Dr. B.C. Roy was a constant visitor whenever his services were required. Jawaharlalji was in jail almost all this time but was released I think just when Pandit Motilalji's condition became serious. It was decided to move him to Lucknow. I was with him till that day. During the whole of this period in

spite of my constant protests he would not listen and went on dealing with correspondence, issuing instructions and otherwise doing all that was necessary for running the Movement. I remember the day when in the afternoon he was taken from Allahabad to Lucknow. I came to Patna the same evening only to hear a day later that he was no more and went back to Allahabad to pay my tributes to his memory.

Although my contact with him began only in 1920 and my association continued only for about 11 years, it was my privilege to know Pandit Motilal Nehru as a great lawyer, as a noble patriot, and if I may claim, to have enjoyed his paternal affection although it was only for a short period.

A MAGNANIMOUS MAN

DR. S. RADHAKRISHNAN

Motilal Nehru was born on the 6th of May 1861 in the city of Agra. This city is legitimately proud of its great citizen. He was a great lawyer, a great patriot, a great man, who had been incapable of anything mean or dishonourable. His personal charm and powerful character won him esteem from both Indians and Britishers. In every sense of the word, Motilal Nehru was a magnanimous man.

A TRUE LEADER

Centenaries are impressive occasions when we take stock of what the persons they commemorate have contributed to the world. It is possible to give a long list of the attributes and achievements of the late Pandit Motilal Nehru, his qualities of leadership and warm humanity, his patience and persistence, his determination and energy, his courage and force. All these have stamped his mark indelibly on the public life of our country. Here I shall confine myself to the political and social activities of Motilal Nehru.

The credit for Motilal's entry into politics goes to Gandhiji and Jawaharlal, apart from the forces of history. He is no brave man whose spirit does not rise when conditions are at their worst. Though accustomed to a very comfortable life and regarded as a great admirer of western style and manners, he subjected himself to the discipline which Gandhi imposed on his followers. Spinning and weaving of Khaddar had become obligatory for political workers. Khaddar became the bond of sympathy between the political workers and the millions of India. Motilal cast aside his foreign dress and put on Khaddar in Indian style and looked even more impressive and attractive in his new style. He hawked Khaddar in the streets of Allahabad. He joined the civil disobedience movement and suffered periods of imprisonment.

GREAT PARLIAMENTARIAN

In his political activities, two things stand out prominently. He was a great organiser, a great parliamentarian, and as the leader of the Swaraj Party in the Central Assembly, he set standards which we are striving to follow. From the visitors' gallery, I saw him on occasions at work in the Central Assembly as the Leader of the Opposition. Most distinguished in appearance as in intellect, he led the Opposition with great astuteness, legal acumen and parliamentary skill. He led the opposition to the Simon Commission. He presided over the All Parties Conference and drew up a Constitution for the country. The same year, 1928, he was the President of the Calcutta Session of the Indian National Congress. It was a great joy for him to see Jawaharlal take over from him as the Congress President. He quoted a Persian couplet which said, "What the Father has not been able to achieve, the Son will." He said that it would be the "Head of Gandhiji and the voice of Jawaharlal." In December 1929, the Lahore Congress under the presidency of Jawaharlal Nehru passed a resolution about the Independence of India. It was passed by an overwhelming majority exactly at midnight and with it the new year and the new era commenced. In his last moments, Motilal told Gandhiji, "I am going soon, Mahatmaji, and I shall not be here to see Swaraj, but I know that you have won it and will soon have it."

COMMUNAL HARMONY

Apart from his parliamentary work, Motilal Nehru laid the greatest stress on communal harmony and unity. It was not a mere tactical move on his part, but a deep-felt conviction, a part of his very being. When the country was torn by communal strife and when bitterness and violence were rampant, Gandhiji undertook a fast. Motilal presided over the Unity Conference and on September 26, 1924, the Conference resolved that the utmost freedom of conscience and religion was essential, and condemned any desecration of places of worship, to whatever faith they may belong, and pay persecution or punishment of any person for adopting or reverting to any faith and it further condemned any attempts by compulsion to convert people to one's faith or to secure or enforce one's own religious observances at the cost of the rights of others. This faith in communal harmony, religious fellowship is needed even today. Though we suffered in the past for our religious bigotry and communal dissensions, we have not yet learnt the needed lesson. The canker

of communalism is deep-seated in our body politic. We should do our utmost to root it out and cleanse our natures.

Motilal was a radical reformer not out of any false sentiment but very cool reason. Communal passions are inconsistent with the true spirit of religion or the traditions of our country.

FAITH IN INDIAN CULTURE

Jawaharlal Nehru told Gandhiji that in the last moments of his life, Motilal repeated the Gayatri Mantra though he never uttered it for nearly 40 years. According to it God is no longer an irate father or a stern judge but the light of lights, *jyotishaam jyotih*, the Spirit of light shining in the future, a light towards which we all endeavour to advance with faltering steps owing to our own unworthiness. Deep down Motilal Nehru had faith in Indian culture and its freedom of spirit, its capacity for healing the ills of men and nations. Motilal Nehru's life was marked by an essential fidelity to civilisation, which meant respect for human dignity and craving for human fellowship.

Indian culture has survived for nearly fifty centuries. Though it passed through many ups and downs it has come down to us with its unfathomable depths and great capacity for devotion and service. What constitutes the national spirit or genius springs from sources deep and ancient, all the time diverting and altering their course, now in flood but on occasions parched and dry. Those are the imponderables that bring history home to our consciousness and make facts look stranger than fiction. We have suffered defeat on many occasions. These misfortunes have not broken our spirit. After every blow, India found herself again and made advances in spite of pain and sorrow. Today, we are in one of the creative epochs of our history. We are trying our best to remould our heritage with insight into the profundities and awareness of the demands of our age.

The Akhil Bharat Sarva Seva Sangh asks us today to "dedicate our energies to the building of a co-operative cohesive, homogeneous community." If we undertake this work and carry it on we will be working in the spirit of that cordial, genial, dedicated servant of our country whose birth centenary we are celebrating now.

(Extracts from a speech delivered by the Vice-President Dr. Radhakrishnan, while inaugurating the centenary celebrations at Agra on 6th April, 1961).

A GREAT STATESMAN AND PARLIAMENTARIAN

K.M. PANIKKAR

It was in Madras during his visit to that city in 1923 in connection with the civil disobedience enquiry that I first met Pandit Motilal Nehru. I was then editing the "Swarajya", an English Daily, published in the interests of the Congress under the leadership of the late Andhra Kesari T. Prakasam. As the editor of a paper closely connected with Congress activities I had many opportunities of coming into contact with Panditji during his stay in Madras. I was glad to feel that he took kindly to me and on one occasion did me the honour of discussing with me the internal tensions of Madras Congress politics.

CONSULTATIONS AT DELHI

Sometime in March 1924, I was asked by Mahatma Gandhi to proceed to Amritsar to be the Liaison Officer with the Shiromani Gurudwara Prabandhak Committee in place of Acharya Gidwani who had been arrested by the Nabha authorities and sent to jail in the State. The S.G.P.C. had been declared an illegal body and it was not quite clear to me what I was expected to do there beyond report on developments to Gandhiji. I decided, however, to stop for a day or two at Delhi on my way to Amritsar and consult Panditji about my programme and generally take his advice as to my line of conduct. It was an exciting moment for a day or two before I arrived in Delhi; the Swaraj Party under Pandit Motilal's leadership had mobilised nationalist opinion and thrown out the budget on the sound constitutional plea of no supplies without satisfaction of political demands. So far as I remember Panditji was then living in Windsor Place and there I went to see him. When I explained what I had gone to him for he was particularly pleased; but added that it was a very difficult assignment I had been given; while following Gandhiji's instructions to the letter, I should use my own discretion in

dealing with daily developments. He also gave me the impression that some kind of negotiations were going on to settle the Akali question, and that Sir Malcolm Hailey, who was then Home Member, was actively interesting himself in solving the problem. He desired me to keep him fully informed of developments and asked me not to fail to call on him whenever I passed through Delhi. During the summer of the same year I had to go up to Simla fairly often with Sardar Mangal Singh and on all such occasions I made it a point of calling on Panditji and giving him an outline of what was happening in Amritsar.

AT ANAND BHAWAN

Soon, however, the Akali agitation was over and I took up my residence in Delhi in order to establish the "Hindustan Times". In September 1924 shortly after the "Hindustan Times" began its publication, I received a message from Mahatma Gandhi, who was then undergoing his first great fast, asking me to see him. His orders were that I should proceed to Calcutta, where the annual session of the Swaraj Party was to take place, and convey a message from the Mahatma to Pandit Motilal Nehru and Deshbandhu C.R. Das. The message was simply this: It was known that the leader of the Swaraj Party was planning to go to London to confer with the Labour Ministry on Indian affairs. In this connection, Gandhiji had been informed that the abdicated Maharaja of Nabha had approached the Swaraj Party leaders that they should also undertake to represent his case to the Secretary of State. As I had, in my capacity as Liaison Officer with the Sikhs, made various reports to Gandhiji on the Nabha question, he desired me to place all the facts within my knowledge before Panditji and Deshbandhu Das and convey on his behalf the message that he considered it inadvisable for them to mix up the Nabha affairs with the national politics. Before I left Delhi Maulana Mohammed Ali told me that it would be advisable for me to stop at Allahabad and put the matter first to Pandit Motilalji, and in this connection he especially warned me that I was likely to come up against the views of Mr. Asaf Ali, who, the Maulana informed me, had left for Calcutta to represent the case of the Maharaja. When I arrived at Allahabad I found Asaf Ali installed at Anand Bhavan. He could not guess why I had come and I was able to secure a private interview with Motilalji and put the case fully to him. He, of course, was alive to all aspects of the case and there was little new that I could tell him beyond Gandhiji's message. At Calcutta I re-

peated the message to Deshbandhu in the presence of Motilalji and I was asked by both of them to carry back a satisfactory reply.

MORE FREQUENT CONTACTS

During the budget session of 1925 I saw Panditji at least twice a week as the "Hindustan Times" was then the only Daily in the capital; and Panditji was desirous that the Swaraj Party's point of view should be fully reflected in the paper. During those three months the "Hindustan Times" was more or less the official paper of the Swaraj Party and consequently my contacts with Panditji were fairly intimate. The control of the paper was, however, acquired by the Sikhs by Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, and this affected Panditji's plans to some extent. He sent for me and said that it was his intention to start a weekly from Delhi which he desired me to edit. Later, after I left for Madras he wrote to me a long letter in his own hand saying how he was hoping to raise the money for this new journalistic venture.

The last time I met him was in London in 1927 when he had come to Europe on some legal work. I met him at Kensington Place Mansions where he was staying. Then also he reminded me of my promise to edit a weekly for him. The time for that had however passed. I could see he was only being friendly. I had also chosen a different path.

GREAT PARLIAMENTARIAN

The contribution of Pandit Motilal Nehru to the growth of Parliamentary life in India is something which cannot be over-emphasised. He was undoubtedly India's greatest parliamentarian and it is on the foundations which he, assisted by the brilliant Secretary-General of the Parliamentary party Shri A. Ranga-swamy Aiyengar, laid that we have been able to build our parliamentary democracy. If unlike in most of the newly independent countries of Asia Parliamentary democracy is functioning effectively in India and if opposition parties are able not only to make their voices heard but are considered essential features of democratic government contributing not only to the process of legislation but to the control of the administrative machinery, the credit for it is to a very large extent due to the courage, wisdom and dignity with which Motilal Nehru led the Swarajist opposition in the Central Legislature during the great national struggle.

COURAGEOUS STAND

He was a master of every aspect of parliamentary work. To emphasise the principle of "no taxation without representation" the nationalist opposition under his leadership threw out the budget. By refusing supplies he emphasised the autocratic nature of the regime in spite of the thin veneer of parliamentary institutions with which it was coated. But Motilal was not a believer in a policy of sterile obstruction. His criticism of legislative measures was always constructive. He served on the Sken Committee which enquired into the question of Indian Defence. He brought a free and unprejudiced mind to bear on major political issues and he was courageous enough to speak firmly against demands, however popular, which he considered to be against the true interests of India. A striking example of this characteristic of Motilal Nehru was the attitude he took in regard to the demand for the abolition of the jurisdiction of the Privy Council in Indian cases.

In fact his courage to stand up against what may be called popular prejudices was legendary in his own day. At a time when it was the fashion to equate social orthodoxy with patriotism Motilal Nehru stood out firmly for his modernist views of life. His reply to Mahatma Gandhi's letter regarding the allegation that he took alcoholic drinks at a party given by Tulsi Goswami is a classic instance which proclaims both the freedom of his mind and the courage with which he upheld his views. He refused to bend his knee at the altar of social obscurantism, and when accused of his food habits, during the elections of 1926 he scorned to buy public vote by a denial of his views.

CONSTRUCTIVE APPROACH

The constructive approach of Motilal to politics is best brought out in the circumstances which led to the Allahabad All Parties Conference and the formulation of the Nehru Report. A leader of the Non-cooperation Movement who had given up his legal practice, courted arrest, and sacrificed wealth and position, he was, at the same time, a statesman who realised that India must produce a solution to her own constitutional problems if Swaraj is to have any meaning. The All-Parties Conference at Allahabad was Motilal Nehru's reply to the insulting challenge of Birkenhead to Indians to produce an agreed constitution. The Nehru Report which emerged from those discussions was the first serious effort of India to put forward an agreed constitution. Taking into consideration the circumstances

of the time the solution it proposed for India's problems were wise and far-seeing.

A statesman of his calibre, modern in his outlook, constructive in his approach to politics, a great parliamentarian who set a model for generations to come, Motilal Nehru stands out giant among a galaxy of giants. His contributions to India's political life are many sided but I venture to think that the future will honour him mainly as the man to whom India owes its parliamentary traditions.



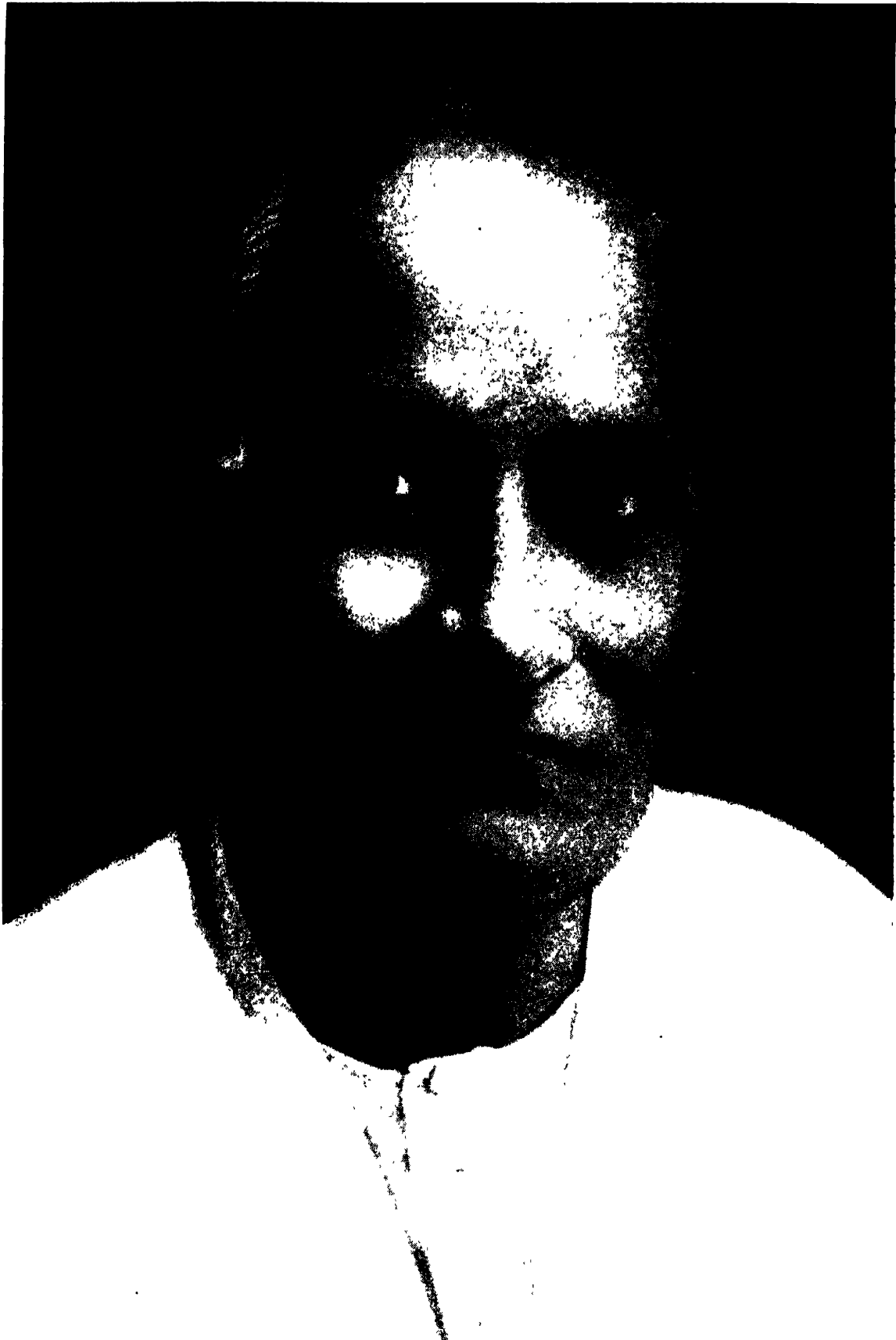
Motilal Nehru as Barrister



At work



In his study



As Congress President

A FASCINATING FIGURE

ASAF ALI

The Prince of Patriots, an aristocrat of the first water, a lawyer of unchallenged supremacy, a politician whose imperious behests made history, a leader who moved millions, an entertainer whose princely hospitality was unexcelled, Pandit Motilal Nehru was a fascinating figure of society and a great personality in Indian history. Motilal was a favoured son of fortune, endowed opulently with possessions that were enviously valued in the world. His sacrifices in the cause which he had espoused were stupendous and he was justly honoured by his country, — twice he wore the crown of national leadership. He died full of years and full of honours and, in one respect more than others, he died the happiest man; for he left behind him a worthy heir whose potentialities he knew. Of him he said, while vacating the Presidential gaddi of the Congress:

“Agar pidar no twanad
Pisar taman kunad.”

(What has been left incomplete by the father, shall be brought to a successful end by the son)

An iconoclast by nature, and a bold fighter, he stood for undiluted reform and unhampered advance in social matters no less than in political. His was the privilege of always fighting at the outposts. Born with a deep-seated pride of race and a keen sense of self-respect, he could brook nothing that touched his tender spots. Relentless as an opponent, he was generous as a victor, and none who came within his orbit could escape his infectious zeal. He was sensitive to a degree in matters which appeared to touch his pride as an Indian, and similarly he refused to allow his self-esteem from being even remotely compromised. As the leader of a party he was easily the first by sheer force of personality, and was capable of great tact when

he chose to exercise it, but his displeasure meant "no quarter", even though some important secessions might result from it.

Studied at close quarters, Motilalji revealed those dynamic qualities which never failed to impress themselves on those who had opportunities to come in contact with him. He demanded unwavering adherence and had little patience with vacillation or too emphatic difference of opinion. He had no hesitation in dispensing with the co-operation of those who could not see eye to eye with him. During the first year of the birth of the Swaraj Party, after boldly breaking away from the 'No-change' Party, he worked indefatigably, spent a princely fortune and indeed established his party on a firm footing. Some day when it becomes possible to write the full history of the Swaraj Party and the uphill task which Deshbandhu C.R. Das and Pandit Motilal had before them, the masterly strategy that Pandit Motilal adopted for overcoming the innumerable difficulties will surely claim a prominent chapter. He was almost constantly in physical agony, but his indomitable spirit was always supreme, and his enthusiasm unquenchable.

On one occasion in 1923, when the Congress had not yet blessed the Swaraj Party, he convened a meeting of the Executive Council of the Party up at Nainital and one morning, after dictating replies to the heavy bunch of letters he used to get, surprised his Executive Council, at about 8 in the morning, by producing a neatly written programme for the day which contained some 15 items of various importance, including brief replies to letters, and notes for the discussion that was to ensue. With fraternal good humour he said: "That is the way to work. I scribbled this down nearly 2 hours before you were out of your beds; and have you brought your notes?" The sheaves of telegrams he used to despatch daily must have been a heavy drain on his purse, for there was scarcely any party fund at the time. When I was sent to Calcutta to induce C.R. Das to agree to the special session of the Congress, which eventually came off at Delhi, to set its seal on the Swaraj Party, Deshbandhu pulled out a fat sheaf of urgent telegrams from his drawer and said: "Here are the imperious mandates of the Pandit which daily pour in from the heights of Nainital. I wish you would leave me alone and let me confine myself to my province. I am sick of these All-India proposals." However, he found reasons to agree to them, and the Party had its day at Delhi. Were it not for Pandit Motilal's determination to see it through, the Swaraj Party may not have emerged from Bengal

for some time at least. Again, those who worked with him in those difficult times knew what mountains of obstacles were surmounted by him. More than once the Party was at the end of its tether for a variety of reasons, but he saved it from the rocks and shoals and guided it safely into the haven. Were it not for increasing obduracy on the part of the officials, the Round Table Conference would have come off, six years before it came, and the history of the country would have perhaps been different today.

There were in the great leader amazing reserves of power. Some time you would go to him with a proposal for slackening your mental attitude, and even before you had time to unbosom yourself he would say "So here is a determined soldier, panting for breath. No Sir, there is no room for waverers in Swaraj Bhawan". But if you stuck to your guns, he would lash you with stinging irony so long as you persisted; but after an hour or two of sparring he would astonish you by presenting you with your own views clothed in a cautious garb and say "This is the way to get over it".

Travelling together to Calcutta to attend the momentous meeting of the Swaraj Party in 1923, he handed the draft of the resolutions, while preparing to use the atomiser, which was his constant companion, on account of his throat trouble, and said: "Just look over, and put down your suggestions". When the suggestions were submitted, he glanced through them and put away the draft saying; "We shall discuss them with Das". But I noticed that they were not acceptable. At the meeting of the Executive, I was not surprised to find him averse. But when Mr. Jayakar who arrived late revealed the same view he turned to me and said: "Well, here is the change, are you satisfied?" But in essentials he was adamant. Sometimes difference of views changed his opinion of persons most radically. Of a certain colleague, he once said: "He is decidedly an intellectual acquisition to the party", and after the lapse of some time, he angrily snapped, "Intellectual acquisition did I say! He is a pompous idiot!"

He had a fine presence commanding respect and reducing the opposition of the doughtiest to a tame show. His aesthetic taste glowed from his surroundings, and his aristocratic outlook on life remained unaffected by the Gandhian gospel of simplicity.

His human heart was most sensitive where Jawaharlal and his dear ones were concerned. On a certain occasion Jawaharlal, urged by his deeply democratic feelings, was drawn into a snare along with a certain political worker. Motilalji was in an irre-

pressible rage and said: "That crow has drawn the swan into the snare." He was bitter, as bitter he could be, and spoke in rasping tones of a high personage who indirectly had been the cause of the unexpected happening. His affection for Jawaharlal was touching, and one felt that there was nothing he was not prepared to sacrifice to see Jawaharlal happy.

The last time I had the privilege of having a heart-to-heart talk with him was in the beginning of the struggle in 1930. He was staying in New Delhi, and was in the best of spirits. He was confident of results, and appeared to be justly proud of the fact that Jawaharlal's leadership was made fruitful. His faith in Mahatmaji was unbounded, and he was resolved to stake everything on the historic 'gambler's throw'. He knew that the 'firmness' school of bureaucrats would help the movement in its progress and the excesses perpetrated in the name of "action" would unmask the true character of the administration, and awaken the will of the people to final assertion. "The more brutal the excesses, the more enthusiastic will be the demonstration of popular will", he remarked "So, why do you feel perturbed?" When I related the amazing remark of a bureaucrat after the first lathi charge and firing in Delhi which was — "will you please ask these people to disperse; for we do not want to kill a thousand men?" he turned to me and asked "and what was your reply"? I said "a suitable one". He eyed me quizzically and said; "why did you not challenge him to kill ten thousand. This alone would have been a suitable answer". Unbending in moments of resistance and provocation, he was not slow to come to honourable terms when an opportunity offered itself.

Pandit Motilal presented the happy confluence of three cultures — the Aryan, the Western and what I call the Urdu culture, otherwise generally misinterpreted as the Indian Muslim culture. As well-versed in Persian and Urdu as any cultured Indian of Hindustan, he had close affinities with the old school of Indo-Moghal or Urdu culture. Ready with apt quotations from Persian poets, he would introduce an original note into his speeches in the Assembly on important occasions, and in ordinary conversations he drew freely on Persian masters. With him has passed away a type, elegant and picturesque, from our social life, and in him India has lost one of her greatest sons.

I SHOULD HAVE REJOICED TO WELCOME HIM AS A COLLEAGUE

LORD MALCOLM HAILEY

I first met Pandit Motilal in 1910, when I visited Allahabad as a member of the Committee making preparation for the Royal Durbar of 1911, a body of which Sir John Hewitt, then-Lieutenant Governor of the United Provinces was the Chairman. Pandit Motilal's name was then widely known outside the United Provinces, but rather as a great lawyer and advocate than as a prominent politician. It is, I think, true to say that at that period the most prominent figures in the Indian political field were to be found in the Bombay and Bengal Presidencies; it was only some years later that the growth of the Congress movement brought the United Provinces into prominence.

But it was only some years after the date I just mentioned that I myself came into close contact with Pandit Motilal, when first as Chief Commissioner of Delhi, and then as Member of the Executive Council, I was called upon to take part in the proceedings of the Legislative Council. There was now no question of the prominence he gradually came to acquire in this field. As time went on, he became the acknowledged leader of the large party in the Legislature which, though it did not actually boycott the Legislative bodies created by the 1919 Reforms, was in steady opposition to the Government, and critical of its attitude on a great variety of the measures which were now brought into the range of Legislative discussion.

If I can trust my own memory (for I am at the moment wintering in Southern Spain, far away from books or other records of my past in India) there was now a progressive hardening, and Pandit Motilal's attitude towards British rule as such. In that attitude his position seemed to be uncompromising, though I myself doubt if he ever felt at home with that growing school of thought which felt that the ideal of true Swaraj demanded that India should rid herself of any vestige of European

manner of life and thought. He was too realistic to entertain any vision that India could best make good her position in the world by striving to return to what could now be only a visionary past. Nor am I quite sure how far Pandit Motilal was prepared to identify himself fully with the programme of the Congress organisation though he might approve of its objective. He, of course made clear his adherence to its position by adopting the traditional Indian Costume instead of the European style of dress he had worn when I first knew him. We all thought that in his new style of dress he stood out as one of the best dressed men in the Legislature.

When I became, in course of time, the leader of the Government side of the House, he and I were often at cross purposes in debate. If anything, this rather increased than diminished the respect I felt for his character. Like many of the Europeans in India of that day we knew that he had made great personal sacrifices in the interest of the cause he had espoused. We realised his sincerity and his absence of any personal rancour, virtues which in our opinion were as significant as the high intellectual level which he invariably displayed. If fate had not decreed that he should become an adversary, we should have rejoiced to welcome him as a colleague.

A GREAT PATRIOT

THE FAMILY

There is no record of the history of the family, all the old papers and documents being destroyed in the Mutiny of 1857. The oldest living member of the family is my brother, Pandit Bansi Dhar Nehru, a Government pensioner, who retired from the post of subordinate judge of the first grade in these provinces, some 13 years ago and is now 68 years old. He has furnished the following account, the early part of which is mainly based on family tradition.

Pandit Raj Kaul, the great grandfather of my grandfather was a Sanskrit and Persian scholar of great eminence in Kashmir. He attracted the notice of the Emperor Farrukh Siyyer when the latter was on a visit to Kashmir, and the family migrated to Delhi about 1716. Some villages and a house situated on the canal running through the city were granted in Jagir to Pandit Raj Kaul. From the fact of his residence on the canal (Nahar), he was known as Raj Kaul Nehru, and in the course of time the word "Nehru" came to be regarded as a surname, and was adopted as such by the family.

During the unsettled state of the throne and the country, which followed the assassination of Farrukh Siyyer, the family went through many vicissitudes of fortune, the details of which are not known with any certainty. All that is known is that the last holders of the Jagir, which had then dwindled into zamindari rights in certain lands, were my great grandfather Pandit Mausaram Nehru and his brother Pandit Saheb Ram Nehru.

My grandfather Pandit Lachminarain Nehru was the first vakil of the "Sarkar Company" at the Imperial Court of Delhi. My father, Pandit Ganga Dhar Nehru, was kotwal of Delhi for some time before the Mutiny of 1857. He died at the early age of 34 in 1861 some three months before I was born.

In the maternal line, my great grandfather was the Dewan

of Shamru Ki Begum (The Begum of Dyce Sombre). My grandfather, Pandit Shankar Nath Zutshi, was a famous man of letters at Delhi, and is mentioned by the late Sir Syed Ahmad Khan in his book entitled Asar-us-Sanadid at p. 122.

I am the youngest of the three brothers. The eldest Pandit Bansi Dhar Nehru, already mentioned, is now living in retirement at Mattra (U.P.). The next was Pandit Nandlal Nehru, who served as Dewan in the Khetri State (Rajputana) with great credit for some ten years and in that capacity rendered signal services to the Thaggi and Dacoity Department of the British Government from which he received several kharitas and letters in recognition of his service. On the death of the then Raja, he moved to Allahabad and having qualified as a vakil of the High Court soon made his way to the front ranks of the profession. He died suddenly in the prime of life in 1887.

I was born at Agra on the 6th May, 1861, and was educated at the Government School at Allahabad and Cawnpore and the Muir Central College. I was enrolled as a vakil of the High Court in 1883, and in January, 1896 was admitted to the roll of Advocates by unanimous resolution of the Chief Justice and the Hon'ble Judges then constituting the court. In August, 1909 I was permitted to appear and plead the bar of the Judicial Committee of His Majesty's Privy Council. In December, 1909 I was elected a member of the Legislative Council of His Honour the Lieutenant Governor of the United Provinces by the delegates of the Allahabad Division.



(Motilal Nehru)

July 3, 1916

MY FATHER

JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

It was in Agra on the sixth of May, 1861 that my father was born. But he was a posthumous child as my grandfather had died three months earlier. The burden of the family then fell on my two uncles who were very much older than my father. The older uncle, Bansi Dhar Nehru, soon after entered the judicial department of the British Government and, being appointed successively to various places, was partly cut off from the rest of the family. The younger uncle, Nand Lal Nehru, entered the service of an Indian State and was Diwan of Khetri State in Rajputana for ten years. Later he studied law and settled down as a practising lawyer in Agra. My father lived with him and grew up under his sheltering care. The two were greatly attached to each other and their relation with each other was a strange mixture of the brotherly and the paternal and filial. My father, being the last comer, was of course my grandmother's favourite son, and she was an old lady with a tremendous will of her own who was not accustomed to be ignored.

EDUCATION

My uncle attached himself to the newly established High Court and when this court moved to Allahabad from Agra, the family moved with it. . . . My uncle gradually developed an extensive practice and became one of the leaders of the High Court Bar. Meanwhile my father was going through school and college in Cawnpore and Allahabad. His early education was confined entirely to Persian and Arabic and he only began learning English in his early 'teens. But at that age he was considered to be a good Persian scholar, and knew some Arabic also, and because of this knowledge was treated with respect by much older people. But in spite of this early precocity his school and college career was chiefly notable for his numerous pranks and escapades.

He was very far from being a model pupil and took more interest in games and novel adventures than in study. He was looked upon as one of the leaders of the rowdy element in the college. He was attracted to Western dress and other Western ways at a time when it was uncommon for Indians to take to them except in big cities like Calcutta and Bombay. Though he was a little wild in his behaviour, his English professors were fond of him and often got him out of a scrape. They liked his spirit and he was intelligent, and with an occasional spurt he managed to do fairly well even in class. In later years, long afterwards he used to talk to us of one of these professors, Mr. Harrison, the principal of the Muir Central College at Allahabad, with affection, and had carefully preserved a letter of his, dating from the old student days.

He got through his various university examinations without any special distinction, and then he appeared for his final, the B.A. He had not taken the trouble to work much for it and he was greatly dissatisfied with the way he had done the first paper. Not expecting to pass the examination, as he thought he had spoiled the first paper, he decided to boycott the rest of the examination and he spent his time instead at Taj Mahal. Subsequently his professor sent for him and was very angry with him for he said that he (my father) had done the first paper fairly well and he had been a fool for not appearing for the other papers. Anyhow this ended my father's university career. He never graduated.

He was keen on 'getting on in life and establishing himself in a profession. Naturally he looked to the law as that was the only profession then in India, which offered any opening for talent and prizes for the successful. He also had his brother's example before him. He appeared for the High Court Vakils' examination and not only passed it but topped the list and got a gold medal for it. He had found the subject after his own heart, or rather, he was intent on success in the profession of his choice.

PRACTICE IN LAW

He started practice in the district courts of Cawnpore and, being eager to succeed, worked hard at it and soon got on well. But his love for games and other amusements and diversions continued and still took up part of his time. In particular, he was keen on wrestling and dangals. Cawnpore was famous for these public wrestling matches in those days.

After serving his apprenticeship for three years at Cawnpore, father moved to Allahabad to work in the High Court. Not long after his brother, Pandit Nand Lal, suddenly died. That was a terrible blow for my father; it was a personal loss of a dearly loved brother who had almost been a father to him, and the removal of the head and principal earning member of the family. Henceforward the burden of carrying on a large family mainly fell on his young shoulders.

He plunged into his work, bent on success, and for many months cut himself off from everything else. Nearly all of my uncle's briefs came to him, and as he happened to do well in them the professional success that he so ardently desired soon came his way and brought him both additional work and money. At an early age he had established himself as a successful lawyer and he paid the price for this by becoming more and more a slave to his jealous mistress — the law. He had no time for any other activity, public or private, and even his vacations and holidays were devoted to his legal practice.

The National Congress was just then attracting the attention of the English-knowing middle classes and he visited some of its early sessions and gave it a theoretical allegiance. But in those days he took no great interest in its work. He was too busy with his profession. Besides, he felt unsure of his ground in politics and public affairs; he had paid no great attention to these subjects till then and knew little about them. He had no wish to join any movement or organisation where he would have to play second fiddle. The aggressive spirit of his childhood and early youth had been outwardly curbed, but it had taken a new form, a new will to power. Directed to his profession it brought success and increased his pride and self-reliance. He loved a fight, a struggle against odds and yet, curiously, in those days he avoided the political field. It is true that there was little of fight then in the politics of the National Congress. However, the ground was unfamiliar, and his mind was full of the hard work that his profession involved. He had taken firm grip of the ladder of success and rung by rung he mounted higher, not by any one's favour, but by his own will and intellect.

He was, of course, a nationalist in a vague sense of the word, but he admired Englishmen and their ways. He had a feeling that his own countrymen had fallen low and almost deserved what they had got. And there was just a trace of contempt in his mind for the politicians who talked and talked without doing anything, though he had no idea at all as to what

else they could do. Also there was the thought, born in the pride of his own success, that many — certainly not all — of those who took to politics had been failures in life.

In the evening usually many friends came to visit father and he would relax after the tension of the day and the house would resound with his tremendous laughter. His laugh became famous in Allahabad. Sometimes I would peep at him and his friends from behind a curtain trying to make out what these great big people said to each other. If I was caught in the act I would be dragged out and, rather frightened, made to sit for a while on father's knee. Once I saw him drinking claret or some other red wine. Whisky I knew. I had often seen him and his friends drink it. But the new red stuff filled me with horror and I rushed to my mother to tell her that father was drinking blood.

STRONG AND STERN

I admired father tremendously. He seemed to me the embodiment of strength and courage and cleverness, far above all the other men I saw, and I treasured the hope that when I grew up I would be rather like him. But much as I admired him and loved him I feared him also. I had seen him losing his temper at servants and others and he seemed to me terrible then and I shivered with fright, mixed sometimes with resentment at the treatment of a servant. His temper was indeed an awful thing and even in after years I do not think I ever came across anything to match it in its own line. But, fortunately, he had a strong sense of honour also and an iron will, and he could control himself as a rule. As he grew older this power of control grew and it was very rare for him to indulge in anything like his old temper.

One of my earliest recollections is of this temper, for I was the victim of it. I must have been about five or six then. I noticed one day two fountain-pens on his office table and I looked at them with greed. I argued with myself that father could not require both at the same time and so I helped myself to one of them. Later I found that a mighty search was being made for the lost pen and I grew frightened at what I had done, but I did not confess. The pen was discovered and my guilt proclaimed to the world. Father was very angry and he gave me a tremendous thrashing. Almost blind with pain and mortification at my disgrace I rushed to mother, and for several days various creams and ointments were applied to my aching and quivering little body.



Gangadhar Nehru, father of Motilal Nehru



Motilal Nehru



Swarup Rani Nehru, wife of Motilal Nehru



Motilal Nehru with Swarup Rani Nehru and their son Jawaharlal Nehru in 1895

I do not remember bearing any ill-will towards my father because of this punishment. I think I must have felt that it was a just punishment, though perhaps overdone. But though my admiration and affection for him remained as strong as ever, fear formed a part of them.

VISITS TO EUROPE

Father's visits to Europe (in 1900) led to an internal storm in the Kashmiri Brahman community in India. He refused to perform any *prayashchit* or purification ceremony on his return. Some years previously another Kashmiri Brahman, Pandit Bishan Narayan Dar, who later became a President of the Congress, had gone to England to be called to the Bar. On his return the orthodox members of the community had refused to have anything to do with him and he was outcast, although he performed the *prayashchit* ceremony. This had resulted in the splitting up of the community into two more or less equal halves. Many Kashmiri young men went subsequently to Europe for their studies and on their return joined the reformist section, but only after a formal ceremony of purification. This ceremony itself was a bit of a farce and there was little of religion in it. It merely signified an outward conformity and a submission to the group will. Having done so, each person indulged in all manner of heterodox activities and mixed and fed with non-Brahmans and non-Hindus.

Father went a step further and refused to go through any ceremony or to submit in any way, even outwardly and formally, to a so-called purification. A great deal of heat was generated, chiefly because of father's aggressive and rather disdainful attitude, and ultimately a considerable number of Kashmiris joined father and so a third group was formed. Within a few years these groups gradually merged into one another as ideas changed and the old restrictions fell.

ACTIVE POLITICS

The political situation in India had drawn my father into more active politics and I was pleased at this although I did not agree with his politics. He had, naturally enough, joined the Moderates whom he knew and many of whom were his colleagues in his profession. He presided over a provincial conference in his province and took up a strong line against the Extremists of Bengal and Maharashtra. He also became president of the U.P. Provincial Congress Committee. He was present at Surat

in 1907 when the Congress broke up in disorder and later emerged as a purely moderate group.

A man of strong feelings, strong passions, tremendous pride and great strength of will, he was very far from the moderate type. And yet in 1907 and 1908 and for some years afterwards, he was undoubtedly a moderate of Moderates and he was bitter against the Extremists, though I believe he admired Tilak.

Why was this so? It was natural for him with his grounding in law and constitutionalism to take a lawyer's and a constitutional view of politics. His clear thinking led him to see that hard and extreme words lead nowhere unless they are followed by action appropriate to the language. He saw no effective action in prospect. The swadeshi and boycott movements did not seem to him to carry matters far. And then the background of these movements was a religious nationalism which was alien to his nature. He did not look back to a revival in India of ancient times. He had no sympathy or understanding of them and utterly disliked many old social customs, caste and the like, which he considered reactionary. He looked to the West and felt greatly attracted by Western progress, and thought that this could come through an association with England.

LINE OF ACTION

Having cast his lot with the Moderates, father took an aggressive line. Most of the Extremists, apart from a few leaders in Bengal and Poona, were young men and it irritated him to find that these youngsters dared to go their own way. Impatient and intolerant of opposition, and not suffering people whom he considered fools, gladly, he pitched into them and hit out whenever he could. I remember, I think it was after I left Cambridge, reading an article of him which annoyed me greatly. I wrote him rather an impertinent letter in which I suggested that no doubt the British Government was greatly pleased with his political activities. This was just the kind of suggestion which would make him wild, and he was very angry. He almost thought of asking me to return from England immediately.

Gradually my father had been drifting away from the orthodox Moderate position. His nature rebelled against too much submission and appeal to an authority which ignored us and treated us disdainfully. But the old Extremist leaders did not attract him; their language and methods jarred upon him. The episode of Mrs. Basant's internment and subsequent events influenced him considerably but still he hesitated before definitely

committing himself to a forward line. Often he used to say in those days that moderate tactics were no good, but nothing effective could be done till some solution for the Hindu-Muslim question was found. If this was found then he promised to go ahead with the youngest of us. The adoption by the Congress at Lucknow in 1916 of the Joint Congress-League Scheme, which had been drawn up at a meeting of the All India Congress Committee in our house, pleased him greatly as it opened the way to a joint effort and he was prepared to go ahead then even at the cost of breaking with his old colleagues of the Moderate group.

ASSOCIATION WITH GANDHIJI

The outward change in his politics came about the time of Mrs. Besant's internment and from that time onwards step by step he went ahead, leaving his old Moderate colleagues far behind till the tragic happenings in the Punjab in 1919 finally led him to cut adrift from his old life and his profession, and throw in his lot with the new movement started by Gandhiji.

Gandhiji took the leadership in his first all-India agitation (in 1919). He started the Satyagraha Sabha, the members of which were pledged to disobey the Rowlatt Act, if it was applied to them, as well as other objectionable laws to be specified from time to time. In other words they were to court gaol openly and deliberately.

I was afire with enthusiasm and wanted to join the Satyagraha Sabha immediately. My father was dead against this new idea. He was not in the habit of being swept away by new proposals; he thought carefully of the consequences before he took any fresh step. And the more he thought of the Satyagraha Sabha and its programme, the less he liked it. What good would the gaol-going of a number of individuals do, what pressure could it bring on the Government? Apart from these general considerations, what really moved him was the personal issue. It seemed to him preposterous that I should go to prison. The trek to prison had not then begun and the idea was most repulsive. Father was intensely attached to his children. He was not showy in his affection, but behind his restraint there was a great love.

Father — I discovered later — actually tried sleeping on the floor to find out what it was like, as he thought that this would be my lot in prison.

Gandhiji came to Allahabad at Father's request and they

had long talks at which I was not present. As a result Gandhiji advised me not to precipitate matters or to do anything which might upset father. I was not happy at this, but other events took place in India which changed the whole situation, and the Satyagraha Sabha stopped its activities.

PUNJAB HAPPENINGS

The Punjab happenings and the inquiry into them had a profound effect on father. His whole legal and constitutional foundations were shaken by them and his mind was gradually prepared for that change which was to come a year later. He had already moved far from his old moderate position. Dissatisfied with the leading Moderate newspaper the Leader of Allahabad, he had started another daily, the Independent, from Allahabad early in 1919. This paper met with great success, but from the very beginning it was handicapped by quite an amazing degree of incompetence in the running of it. Almost everybody connected with it — directors, editors, managerial staff — had their share of responsibility for this. I was one of the directors, without the least experience of the job, and the troubles and the squabbles of the paper became quite a nightmare to me. Both my father and I were, however, soon dragged away to the Punjab, and during our long absence the paper deteriorated greatly and became involved in financial difficulties. It never recovered from them, and although it had bright patches in 1920 and 1921, it began to go to pieces as soon as we went to gaol. It expired finally early in 1923.

Father presided over the Amritsar Congress during Christmas 1919. He issued a moving appeal to the Moderate leaders or the Liberals, as they were now calling themselves, to join this session because of the new situation created by the horrors of martial law. "The lacerated heart of the Punjab" called to them, he wrote. Would they not answer that call? But they did not answer it in the way he wanted, and refused to join. Their eyes were on the new reforms that were coming as a result of the Montagu-Chelmsford recommendations. The refusal hurt father and widened the gulf between him and the Liberals.

CONFIDENCE IN DESHBANDHU

My father had a host of acquaintances, and had the gift of laughing his way through them, but he was chary of friendship, and in later years he had grown rather cynical. And yet between him and Deshbandhu the barriers seemed to fall, and they took

each other to heart. My father was more practical and prosaic; he was a great organiser, and he had little of religion in him. He had always been a fighter, ready to receive and give hard blows. Those whom he considered fools he suffered not at all, or at any rate not gladly; and opposition he could not tolerate. The two, my father and Deshbandhu, unlike in some ways as they were, fitted in and made a remarkable and effective combination for the leadership of a party, each in some measure supplying the other's deficiencies. And between the two of them there was absolute confidence, so much so that each had authorised the other to use his name for any statement or declaration, even without previous reference or consultation.

It was this personal factor that went a long way to establish the Swaraj Party firmly and give it strength and prestige in the country. From the earliest days there were fissiparous tendencies in it, for many careerists and opportunists had been drawn into it by the possibilities of personal advancement through the Councils. There were also some genuine moderates in it who were inclined to more cooperation with the Government. As soon as these tendencies appeared on the surface after the elections, they were denounced by the Party leadership. My father declared that he would not hesitate "to cut off a diseased limb" from the Party, and he acted up to this declaration.

CALCUTTA CONGRESS SESSION

My father was to preside over the Calcutta Congress. He was full of the All Parties Conference and of his Report to it and wanted to push this through the Congress. To this he knew that I was not agreeable, because I was not prepared to compromise on the Independence issue, and this irritated him. We did not argue about the matter much, but there was a definite feeling of mental conflict between us, an attempt to pull different ways. Differences of opinion we had often had before, vital differences which had kept us in different political camps. But I do not think that on any previous or subsequent occasion the tension had been so great. Both of us were rather unhappy about it. In Calcutta matters came to this, that my father made it known that if he could not have his way in the Congress — that is, if he could not have a majority for the resolution in favour of the All Parties Report — he would refuse to preside over the Congress. That was a perfectly reasonable and constitutional course to adopt.

The main resolution of the Congress, as it was finally adopted,

accepted the All Parties Report but intimated that if the British Government did not agree to that constitution within a year, the Congress would revert to Independence. It was an offer of a year's grace and a polite ultimatum. The resolution was no doubt a come-down from the ideal of Independence, for the All Parties Report did not even ask for full Dominion Status. And yet it was probably a wise resolution in the sense that it prevented a split when no one was ready for it, and kept the Congress together for the struggle that began in 1930.

PRISON AND POOR HEALTH

On his return from Bombay father was arrested on June 30th and Syed Mahmud was arrested with him. They were arrested as acting-President and Secretary of the Working Committee, which was declared unlawful. Both of them were sentenced to six months. My father's arrest was probably due to his having issued a statement defining the duties of a soldier or policeman in the event of an order to fire on civil populations being given. The statement was strictly a legal affair, and contained the present British Indian law on this point. Nevertheless, it was considered a provocative and dangerous document.

Father was in very poor health when he came to gaol, and the conditions in which he was kept there were of extreme discomfort. This was not intentional on the part of the Government, for they were prepared to do what they could to lessen those discomforts. But they could not do much in Naini prison. Four of us were now crowded together in the four tiny cells of my barrack. It was suggested by the superintendent of the prison that father might be kept in some other part of the gaol where he might have a little more room, but we preferred to be together, so that some of us could attend personally to his comforts.

The monsoon was just beginning and it was not particularly easy to keep perfectly dry even inside the cells, for the rainwater came through the roof occasionally and dripped in various places. At night it was always a problem where to put father's bed, in the little 10 ft. by 5 ft. veranda attached to our cell, in order to avoid the rain. Sometimes he had fever. The gaol authorities ultimately decided to build an additional veranda, a fine broad one, attached to our cell. This veranda was built and it was a great improvement, but father did not profit by it much, as he was discharged soon after it was ready. Those of us who continued to live in that barrack took full advantage of it later.

Towards the end of July there was a great deal of talk about Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and Mr. M.R. Jayakar, endeavouring to bring about peace between the Congress and the Government. We read about it in a daily newspaper, which was supplied as a special favour to father. We read in this paper the correspondence that had passed between the Viceroy, Lord Irwin, and Messrs. Sapru and Jayakar, and then we learnt that the so-called 'peacemakers' had visited Gandhiji. We did not know at all what had induced them to take this initiative or what they were driving at. Later we were told by them that they had been encouraged to proceed in the matter because of a brief statement that father had agreed to in Bombay a few days before his arrest. The statement had been drafted by Mr. Slocombe (a correspondent of the London Daily Herald then in India) after a conversation with my father, and had been approved by the latter. This statement considered the possibility of the Congress withdrawing the civil disobedience campaign, subject to the Government agreeing to a number of conditions.

LAST DAYS

My father was in Calcutta and was far from well, but news of Kamla's arrest and conviction shook him up, and he decided to return to Allahabad. He sent on my sister Krishna immediately to Allahabad, and followed himself, with the rest of the family, a few days later. On the 12th of January he came to see me in Naini. I saw him after nearly two months, and I had a shock which I could conceal with difficulty. He seemed to be unaware of the dismay that his appearance had produced in me, and told me that he was much better than he had lately been in Calcutta. His face was swollen up, and he seemed to think that this was due to some temporary cause.

That face of his haunted me. It was so utterly unlike him. For the first time a fear began to creep in my mind that there was real danger for him ahead. I had always associated him with strength and health, and I could not think of death in connection with him. He had always laughed at the idea of death, made fun of it, and told us that he proposed to live for a further long term of years. Laterly I had noticed that whenever an old friend of his youth died, he had a sense of loneliness, of being left by himself in strange company, and even a hint of an approaching end. But generally this mood passed and his overflowing vitality asserted itself, and we of his family had grown so used to his rich personality and the all-embracing

warmth of his affection, that it was difficult for us to think of the world without him.

On the morning of February 4th (1931) he seemed to be a little better, and it was decided to take advantage of this and remove him to Lucknow, where there were facilities for deep X-ray treatment which Allahabad did not possess. That very day we took him by car, Gandhiji and a large party following us. We went slowly, but he was nevertheless exhausted. The next day he seemed to be getting over the fatigue, and yet there were some disquieting symptoms. Early next morning, February 6th, I was watching by his bedside. He had had a troublesome and restless night; suddenly I noticed that his face grew calm and the sense of struggle vanished from it. I thought that he had fallen asleep, and I was glad of it. But my mother's perceptions were keener, and she uttered a cry, I turned to her and begged her not to disturb him as he had fallen asleep. But that sleep was his last long sleep, and from it there was no awakening.

*(Extracts from Jawaharlal Nehru's
Autobiography)*

A MAKER OF MODERN INDIA*

C.F. ANDREWS

Pandit Motilal Nehru belonged to that older generation of great men in India, of which Rabindranath Tagore is today one of the very few now living. It is a curious fact that Motilal's birthday came on exactly the same day of the year and month as that of the poet: for he was born on May 6, 1861.

Among his contemporaries, in Allahabad, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya comes nearest to him in age. Dr. Brajendranath Seal, that giant of massive learning in Bengal, who has just passed away, was somewhat younger. Sir P.C. Roy, the renowned chemist, is about the same age as Rabindranath Tagore, Sir J.C. Bose was a contemporary, Sir Nilratan Sarkar, who is still with us, belongs to the same generation. Lala Lajpat Rai in the Punjab was younger. Many names might be recalled in other provinces, but space will hardly allot. What I have tried to point out is that the "sixties" of last century produced a larger number of eminent men than the years that followed. It must not be forgotten that Mahatma Gandhi himself comes just within the period.

Kashmiri Brahmans, to which class Pandit Motilal Nehru belonged, are well known all over the north of India both for their intellectual powers and fine appearance. They are, by birth, what may truly be called an aristocratic race, and easily recognised as such. Motilal was typical of this distinguished class and in his old age he gained the reputation of being the "aristocratic of the Assembly." His spotless khaddar dress, with his white Kashmiri shawl, suited him perfectly, and his portrait is rightly given the place of honour in his son's Autobiography. The fine features — which I have mentioned — and the fair

* Extract from "Great Men of India", edited by L.P. Rushbrook Williams 1939, pp. 339-45.

complexion run through the whole family, and have descended from father to son.

EARLY LIFE

Although, as a boy, Motilal took little interest in his school and college studies he was from an early age keenly interested in the subject of law. He came out first as "Gold Medalist" in the High Court Vakils' examination and showed at once his marked ability. His father had died three months before he was born, so that he never knew what it was to have a father. But his elder brother, Nandlal, who was much older than himself, took the place of a father towards him during his school and college days and afterwards introduced him into his own practice at the Bar. This brother, however, died very early in Motilal's legal career and thus he was soon thrown upon his own resources.

According to the immemorial custom of India, Motilal was now obliged to bear the burden of all the members of the family who were settled in Allahabad. This meant very hard work at his legal profession, from morning to night, building up his practice. But he thoroughly enjoyed it and very rapidly climbed the ladder which led to success.

All the facts which I have thus briefly related are to be found in the remarkable Autobiography written by his son, Jawaharlal, who was for many years his only child. Much later in life two daughters were also born to him, and these three made up his family. But under the same roof there were a large number of cousins and near relatives, who formed a joint family together in the spacious house called Anand Bhavan.

FIRST MEETING

It was there, at Anand Bhavan, that I first met Motilal Nehru. A family residence of this type is like the ancestral house of a clan in the Highlands of Scotland. Everyone who is a near relative, and also the servants who grow up in it, regard themselves as members of the joint family. The memory of my first meeting with Pandit Motilal Nehru is very dim today; but I can easily picture the house where he lived and his very handsome appearance. Delhi and Allahabad were closely associated in their intellectual life in those times. There was a close fellowship also between Moslems and Hindus within the different intellectual groups. The Common Urdu language, in which very great pride was taken by both Hindus and Moslems, bound them

together. The Western culture, which had come also into fashion, was another link common to this very small circle of English-educated people. The members of leading families met continually, especially at marriages. My own educational work soon brought me into touch with Allahabad and also with Anand Bhavan.

Motilal Nehru was from the first quite lavish in his hospitality. More and more he had adopted, after each visit to Europe, the expensive standard of living common in the West. Exceedingly foolish stories about his Western habits were spread widely over the north of India, which were ridiculous to those who knew him in his own house; for whatever he did in this direction, as events proved, was merely on the surface, and could be thrown off at a moment's notice. He frankly admired the character of the Englishmen he met who had been trained in the English public schools. Therefore, he sent his only son to Harrow, and never regretted that action. But all through his life he was far too deeply wedded to his own country and its traditions to make him ever forget his birthright.

MARTIAL LAW

When I first came to know him intimately was in the autumn of 1919 at Amritsar and Lahore, where we met together during the first days of the Congress Enquiry into the Punjab disturbances and the acts which had been committed under martial law.

His son, Jawaharlal Nehru, had come up alone, in the first instance, immediately after martial law had been withdrawn and the entry into the Punjab had become possible. We had lived together for some time at Harkishen Lal's house in Lahore before any one else arrived. Each day, when we came back from one disturbed area after another, we used to compare notes in the evening. Then Motilal Nehru himself came, as soon as he was free from his engagements. Mahatma Gandhi soon followed, when the order against him was withdrawn. It was painful to witness how shock after shock went home, when they both examined, as trained lawyers, the evidence which we put before them. Some of the worst things that were done under martial law were not done in Amritsar or in Lahore, but in the Gujranwala district, in villages whose names even were quite unknown. It was a lesson that I never forget to notice how very carefully they sifted the evidence, and at once put aside as untrustworthy all that I had collected, at second-hand, on hearsay only.

Long before this Enquiry was over, the more urgent call suddenly came to me to go out to Kenya and South Africa. I was very sorry to go away, but before I left the Punjab a golden opportunity had been given me of seeing at first-hand those two leaders of India, as they then were, closely associated together in this common investigation on behalf of those who had suffered under martial law.

GREAT CHANGE

That memorable year 1919, in Indian History, changed once and for all the mode of life of Pandit Motilal Nehru. Before this time, as we have seen, he had made some of his closest friends in Europe and also among the ruling classes in India who were British by race and tradition. He greatly admired that tradition, while holding himself free to criticise it. He had also many friends among the aristocracy of India. His whole mind had been steeped in law and constitutional government. Though he had been for some time a member of the Congress, he had always represented the Right rather than the Left. But Amritsar shook the very foundations of the faith on which he had built up his life hitherto; and when he presided over the National Congress, which was held at Amritsar that very year, 1919, he felt that the parting of the ways had come between him and his old liberal friends. Then, when at last the call came to join the non-cooperation movement, under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi, he was fully prepared to accept it. He did this slowly and deliberately, realising all the consequences which it involved.

He would have been the first to acknowledge that, in his own home, there were no less than men — who were eager to help him to make this great decision to join Mahatma Gandhi. Then, as soon as he had made it, the whole family became united. Jawaharlal's mother and wife and daughter took part in the struggle side by side with Motilal Nehru himself and his son.

Yet there was a marked difference from the very first that soon revealed itself. Motilal Nehru, as I have just said, was quite obviously inclined to the Right in all his actions and decisions. Even after he had joined the Non-cooperation Movement this continued. So, after the first flush of the new venture of non-cooperation was over and it became logically evident to him that he could win more power by entering the Central Legislative Assembly, he was prepared to do this along with his great friend C.R. Das of Bengal. He was thus led materially to differ from Mahatma Gandhi. Those who followed the latter were called

no-changers. As a parallel organisation, the Swaraj Party was formed by Motilal Nehru and C.R. Das. The parliamentary methods of obstruction, which Parnell and his Irishmen had so brilliantly tried out at Westminster, were put into execution at Delhi.

MEETING AT BOMBAY

The next time I met Pandit Motilal Nehru was at Juhu, near Bombay, where Gandhi was recovering from his very serious operation in the Sassoon Hospital at Poona. He came and stayed at Juhu for some time in order to be near Mahatmaji and talk things over and I had many opportunities of seeing the lighter side of his character as the two leaders together made great fun of one another. Mahatmaji was convalescent and recovering health. He was thus in a joking mood with everyone.

The whole Nehru family was in residence at Juhu during those extraordinary days, while Motilal and Gandhi talked out — as it seemed to me, almost interminably — the pros and cons of “Council Entry”. Neither convinced the other; but, meanwhile, in the intervals between these long conversations, I had got to know Pandit Motilal Nehru very much better than I had ever done before. I was also able to witness and appreciate his deep admiration for Mahatma Gandhi as a man. As a “Mahatma” he was far less interested in him, but that made everything between them more human. He would chaff Gandhi mercilessly and nothing pleased him better. I wish I could remember some of the jokes, which were of a very elementary character, but they have quite passed from me. Just one I recollect, how he called Mahatma Gandhi “a bit of dandy” because of his spotless khaddar! Behind all the merriment, however, was a firmness on both sides which became at times crucially painful because the two minds, so strongly dissimilar, would not always work together. Yet the affection between them became all the deeper because of their very differences.

STRONG PERSONALITY

The portrait drawn by Jawaharlal of his father is one of the finest descriptions in his Autobiography. “There was in him,” he writes, “a strength of personality and a measure of kingliness. In any gathering where he was present he would inevitably be the centre and the hub. Whatever the place he sat at table, it would become, as an eminent English judge said later, the head of the table. He was neither meek nor mild. Consciously im-

perious, he created great loyalty as well as bitter opposition. It was difficult to feel neutral about him; one had to like him or dislike him. With a broad forehead, tight lips, and a determined chin he had a marked resemblance to the busts of the Roman Emperors in the museums in Italy. There was a magnificence about him and a grand manner, which is sadly to seek in this world of today.

"I remember," he adds, "showing Gandhiji a photograph of him, where he had no moustache, and till then Gandhiji had always seen him with a fine moustache, he startled almost on seeing this photograph and gazed long upon it; for the absence of the moustache brought out the hardness of the mouth and chin; and he said with a somewhat dry smile that now he realised what he had to contend against. The face was softened, however, by the eyes and by the lines that frequent laughter had made. But sometimes the eyes glittered."

In all my own memories of him this gentler side predominated and I remember him chiefly by his lavish fund of humour and merriment especially with Gandhiji himself. Yet no one admired Gandhi more than Motilal Nehru. "That humble and lonely figure," he wrote about him, "standing erect, on the firm footholds of faith unshakable and strength unconquerable, continues to send out to his countrymen his message of sacrifice and suffering for the Motherland."

On other later occasions it has been my privilege to see these two together, each great in his own way, but strongly dissimilar; and it has made me understand more clearly how this affection for Mahatma Gandhi has descended from father to son. Indeed, the whole Nehru family has joined in it.

COUNCIL ENTRY

The great event in the earlier days of Non-cooperation, for which Pandit Motilal Nehru and Das were responsible, became known as "Council Entry." They had argued out to the bitter end with Mahatmaji the value of the movement.

At last Mahatmaji gave way; and at the next elections the Swaraj Party, as it was called, was fully organised and everywhere carried the polls. When Motilal Nehru was chosen to be leader of the opposition in the Assembly, as the head of the Swaraj Party, he felt himself once more entirely in his own element. He was no longer like a fish out of water. His whole legal training and his knowledge of assemblies had all along made him anxious to engage in a battle royal with the

Imperial Government, using its own weapons to defeat it. He was quite certain that he could bring it down to its knees.

In this opinion he was more or less justified; for the Government suffered outwardly defeat at his hands. Indeed, on all the larger issues, it could only rely on its own official and nominated members, and these, by themselves, were not sufficient to form a majority. But his triumphs proved to be Pyrrhic victories after all, because as soon as any Government measure was defeated it was at once certificated by the Viceroy. There was also a majority ready in the Upper House to reverse the decision of the Assembly.

A subtle danger, meanwhile, attacked the Swaraj Party. For every possible inducement was given to its members to serve on one Committee after another, or to take this post or that, bringing certain emoluments with them. When these were accepted, the full force of a revolutionary method of procedure was continually frustrated.

During these difficult years, Motilal undertook almost alone the immensely arduous task of drawing up a form of constitution by which India should have full Dominion Status within the British Commonwealth. His son, Jawaharlal, could not endure the limited terms on which this constitution was being framed, independence was the goal. A considerable amount of friction arose between father and son on this issue and a compromise was reached at last with great difficulty, whereby the offer to accept this "Dominion Status" constitution would expire at the end of the year 1929.

IMPRISONMENT AND ILLNESS

It will not be possible to write much about the later years of his life during which he had to suffer imprisonment for taking an active part in the Civil Resistance Movement along with many other members of his family. Long before he took part in the struggle he had been afflicted for very many years with an acute form of asthma, which caused him great physical pain and put a severe strain upon his heart. But his utterly resolute temperament would not allow him for a moment to stand by while others suffered, even though he was already to all intents and purposes an invalid and had reached his 70th year.

In the jail, his illness rapidly grew worse, and it was obvious that prison life was doing him untold injury, because he could get no proper treatment for his asthma and heart trouble under jail conditions. Yet he became immediately angry if anyone suggested that he should be released because of his infirmities. He

went to the length of sending a telegram to the Viceroy, Lord Irwin, saying that he did not wish to claim any exemption. But on the doctors' imperative orders he was discharged after exactly ten weeks' imprisonment.

Then came the fifth arrest of his only son, Jawaharlal. The old father pulled himself together and declared to every one present that he was going to be ill no longer. For a time his indomitable spirit prevailed; but after a short period the blood came back into his sputum in greater quantities than ever. Therefore, he was urged to go to Calcutta for the purpose of taking a sea voyage along with a friend who was a doctor; but his condition so quickly grew worse that he could not make his journey any further than Calcutta. Yet even then his will was quite unconquerable, and he carried forward every part of his civil resistance just as before.

DEATH IN 1931

He returned to Allahabad, and his son Jawaharlal was discharged a little while before the others in order to be with him. Mahatma Gandhi had also been discharged at Yeravda and many others among the Congress leaders. These came to Allahabad and were able to meet him, one by one, for the last time before his death.

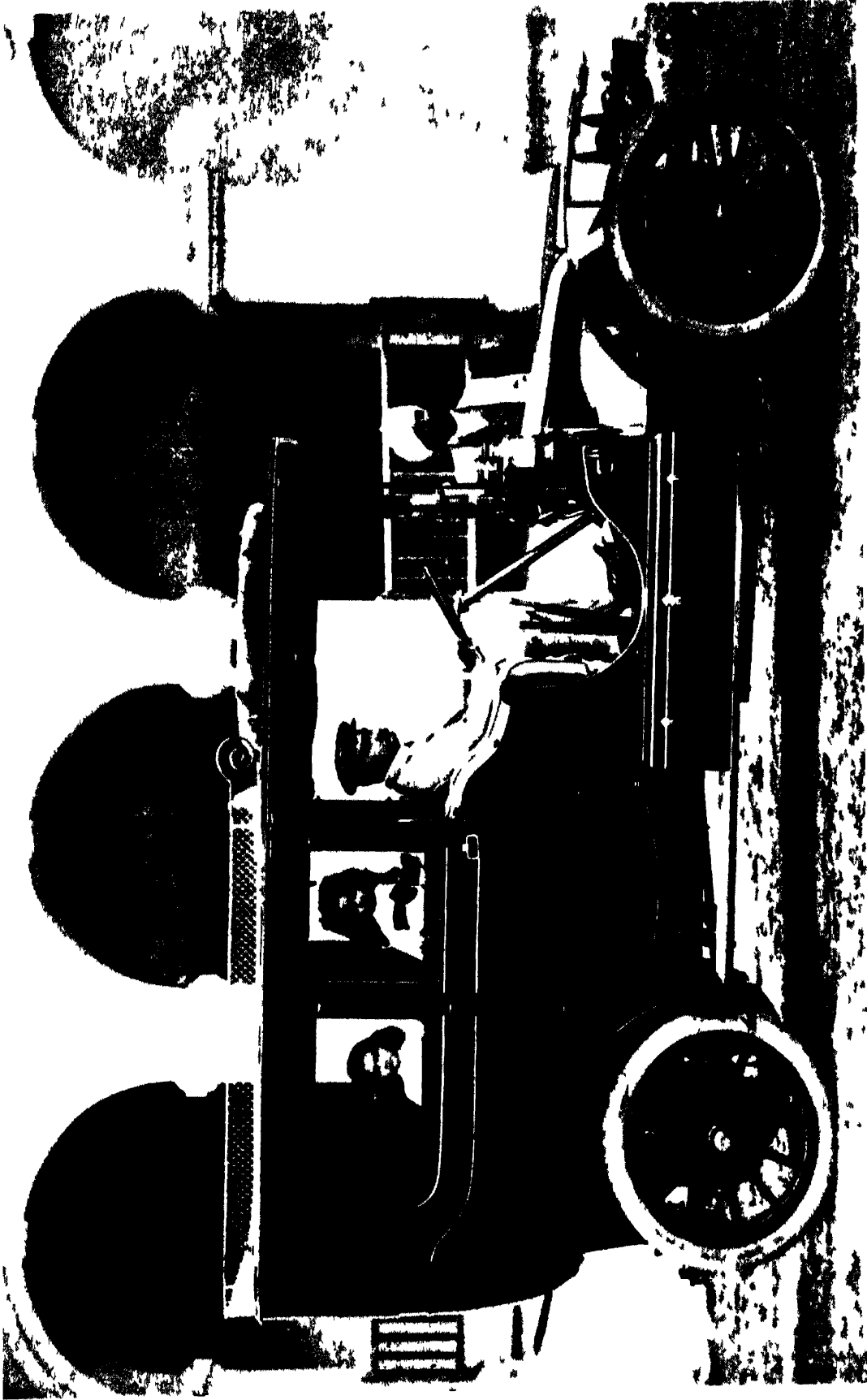
"I am going soon" he said to Mahatma Gandhi "and I shall not be here to see Swaraj. But I know that you have won it."

The end came on February 6th. For many millions, in every part of India, it seemed as if a dear personal friend had been taken away from them. His son writes:

"I was dazed all that day, hardly realising what had happened, and a succession of events and large crowds kept me from thinking. Great crowds in Lucknow gathered together at brief notice — the swift dash from Lucknow to Allahabad sitting by the body, wrapped in our national flag, and with a big flag flying above — the arrival at Allahabad, and the huge crowds that had gathered for miles to pay homage to his memory. There were some ceremonies at home, and then the last journey to the Ganga with a mighty concourse of people. As evening fell on the river bank on that winter day, the great flames leapt up and consumed that body which had meant so much to us, who were close to him, as well as to millions in India. Gandhiji said a few moving words to the multitude and then all of us crept silently home. The stars were out and shining brightly when we returned, lonely and desolate."



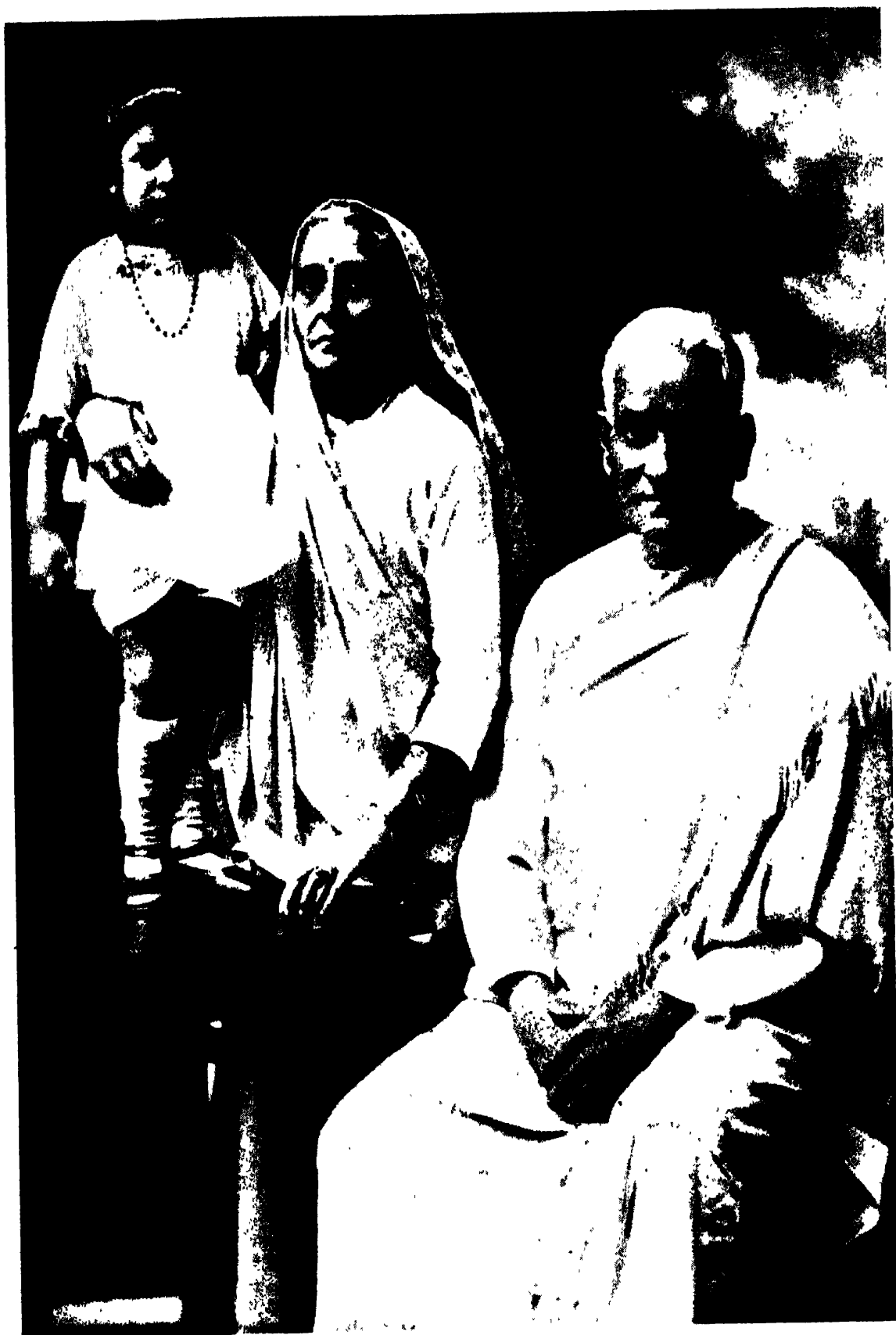
Motilal Nehru visited England in 1909 when Jawaharlal Nehru was studying at Cambridge
Picture shows (from left) Krishna Nehru, Swarup Rani Nehru, Motilal Nehru, Sarup Kumari
Nehru (Vijayalakshmi) and Jawaharlal Nehru



Motilal Nehru on wheel in his car with Sarup Kumari Nehru and another child



Father and son — Motilal Nehru and Jawaharlal Nehru — as outgoing and incoming Presidents of the Congress at its Lahore session in 1929



Motilal Nehru with Swarup Rani Nehru and Chandralekha

Messages came pouring in from every side — from those who had been his most stalwart opponents in the Assembly, from the wart opponents in the Assembly, from the Viceroy and Lady Irwin, as well as from those dear companions who had stood side by side with him in the civil resistance campaign.

“This tremendous volume of goodwill and sympathy” wrote Nehru, “took away somewhat the sting from our sorrow; but it was, above all, the wonderfully soothing and healing presence of Gandhiji that helped my mother and all of us to face that crisis in our lives.”

Looking back after all these years, it has now become evident to thinking men all over the world that the good fight which Motilal Nehru fought was carried through to the end with a chivalry and courtesy towards his opponents that made his cause truly great and noble. His name is honoured today in India, not only by his fellow countrymen, but also by every European. In his own career, as a statesman he stands out more prominently than ever, as one who brought the debates of the Central Assembly at Delhi to a higher parliamentary level than has ever been reached before or since. Certainly no one has ever been so great as he, as Leader of the Opposition. In this, and in a thousand other ways, he has been one of the “Makers of Modern India.”

REMINISCENCE

DR. RAJENDRA PRASAD

It was in 1920 that I got acquainted with Pandit Motilal Nehru for the first time. Before that I had only seen him from a distance, once, for example, at Allahabad when a meeting of the All India Congress Committee was held at his house and which I attended as a member of the A.I.C.C.

Strange as it may sound, it was not politics but professional work which brought us together in the beginning. There was a law suit involving a large property in which Pandit Motilal appeared for one of the parties and I acted as one of his juniors. It was a celebrated case in which some of the most distinguished lawyers of the country acted on one side or the other. Men like the late S. Srinivasa Ayyangar of Madras, the late Deshbandhu Chittaranjan Das, Shri Varadachari and the late Shri N.N. Sircar were engaged in it. This contact gave me an opportunity of coming near to Pandit Motilal Nehru and later on as a result of our common political activities, this acquaintance developed into a close relationship.

The case I have referred to synchronised with a spurt in the Congress activities. The Amritsar session of the Congress was held, as was usual in those days, in the last week of December 1919. Pandit Motilal Nehru presided over it. I could not attend the Congress as I was getting ready for the case which was fixed to open on the 2nd January 1920. We were defendants and Pt. Motilal, therefore, could afford to come a little later and the work was done in the meantime by Shri N.N. Sircar. Pt. Motilal came sometime in January and from that time right up to October 1920 when the hearing closed he was in Arrah. I was also there. I had therefore opportunity of coming into contact with him almost every day and after court hours and whenever we had any leisure we used to talk about politics also which had become rather serious business on account of

the Rowlatt Agitation and the subsequent Jalianwalla Bagh tragedy. I found that he was not only a lawyer of very high order but also very hard-working and thorough in his preparation of the work. He was a very astute cross-examiner and having had long and varied experience of big suits in which big Taluqdaries and Zamindaries were involved, he knew how to deal with such big and complicated issues. In cross-examination he would go step by step insinuating without allowing the witness to understand or realise the implication of his own answers. He could also understand the weaknesses and strong points of a witness and had an uncanny way of getting admissions to which witnesses under his cross-examination were led step by step.

I remember one very funny incident. There was a Maharaja who was in the witness-box. He was known to Panditji and had been his client but this time he was to be cross-examined by him. He did not appear in Court but we had to go to his palace as he was to be examined by a Commission. Before the actual work of the Commission started, the Maharaja and Panditji talked like old friends and the Maharaja felt assured that in the hands of his old lawyer he was quite safe although the lawyer was appearing on the opposite side this time. The Maharaja unfortunately happened to make a mis-statement which was contradicted by some letter of his which he had written to somebody but about which he was sure in his own mind that it could not have reached our client. Panditji knew this but we did not have the letter. We had, however, an embossed envelope of the Maharaja. There was nothing in the envelope but he stuck it in his pocket in a flaunting way exhibiting just a portion of it which the Maharaja could not fail to notice. The Maharaja became afraid that he would be exposed and his letter would be produced. So, when Panditji started his cross-examination he went on putting some questions and while doing so he put his hand into his pocket just to show as if he was taking out the envelope and going to put it to the Maharaja to show the falsehood of his statement. The witness almost collapsed and made admissions which were needed. There was nothing wrong and dishonest about it. Pt. Motilal did not utter or say one word to suggest that he had that letter in his possession but the mere presence of the envelope which was an empty one did the trick.

In arguing, he would proceed slowly, deliberately, point by point and build up his case on the basis of facts which would become irrefutable. He was not a flashy orator nor did his arguments carry the court by storm of his oratory but slowly and

gradually he built up a case which was complete and unanswerable. On the other side, the other lawyers whom I have mentioned were very distinguished persons and each was a supreme master of the art in his own way and in his own personality. I had, therefore, the good fortune of coming rather in close contact with the best legal minds of the country. Incidentally, this happened to be my last case as a lawyer because even while this case was being heard in court, the Non-cooperation Resolution of the Congress was passed at a special session at Calcutta.

The Calcutta session was essentially an emergency one, which had been necessitated on account of the great excitement in the country as a result of the Rowlatt Act and subsequent atrocities in the Punjab. Pandit Motilal Nehru and Deshbandhu Chittaranjan Das were both very closely and intimately connected with the inquiries which the Congress had made into what came to be known as the 'Punjab atrocities' which included the Jalianwalla Bagh tragedy and the various kinds of humiliations and tortures to which people in different parts of Punjab had been made to submit. The Non-cooperation Movement had in fact as one of its origins these Punjab atrocities, the other being the wrong done to the Khilafat by the British Government which roused sentiments of the Muslims to fever point, and a large number of Hindus under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi joined the Muslims in the Khilafat Movement. A special session of the Congress was convened at Calcutta under the presidency of Lala Lajpat Rai and it was from Arrah that both Pandit Motilal Nehru and Deshbandhu Das went to attend that Congress. They could absent themselves for a few days as Shri N.N. Sircar was engaged in arguing the case on behalf of one of the parties. I could not go because I was assisting him in the argument. I may mention that I came to know Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, although I had heard his name before, for the first time at the Railway Station at Arrah. He was going to Calcutta for the Congress and Pandit Motilal Nehru and Deshbandhu Das, I believe, travelled by the same train, joining it at Arrah.

Pandit Motilal Nehru used to live in a very high style as anyone who had the opportunity of seeing him could say. I saw him living in that style in Arrah for those ten months. He went to Calcutta in the same style. He travelled not only first class but got a whole first class compartment reserved for himself. He had already come in close contact with Mahatma Gandhi in connection with the inquiries in the Punjab atrocities and other-

wise. As far as I know, he had not fully made up his mind about the practicability of the programme of non-violent non-cooperation which was already being discussed and which had in fact been already adopted at some Khilafat conferences and Provincial Congress conferences like those of Gujarat and Bihar. I was not present in Calcutta and so I do not know how the change occurred but he actually supported the resolution which Mahatma Gandhi moved and became a staunch advocate of it with all his ability and fervour. On his return to Arrah he stayed there for nearly a month in connection with the case. I found a great change in his life and he was constantly talking of what was to be done to make the Movement successful. When the case ended, he went to Allahabad and I also became free.

A short time thereafter a meeting of the A.I.C.C. was held, I believe, at Bombay to consider the necessary steps for giving effect to the Calcutta resolution and I started from Patna and found Pandit Motilal and Shri Jawaharlal joining the same train at the Cheoki Station. I used to travel third after my contact with Mahatma Gandhi and so I had a third class ticket for Bombay. Panditji had given up the first class reserved compartment, and had taken a simple ticket for second class. I met him on the platform and he asked me in what class I was. I told him that I was travelling in a third class compartment. He said, 'Let us come to a compromise. I have come down from the first to the second class, you come up from the third to the second and let us travel together.' So we did. I found him a completely changed man. This is only typical of the great change which suddenly came in his life. While we were sitting in the compartment talking about something, we saw Jawaharlal passing on the platform. He was travelling third. Panditji turned round to me and said: 'Look at this boy, he is travelling third like you. This is a time when he should be enjoying himself but he has given up everything and has become a Sadhu'. I saw drops of tears in his eyes. I at once felt that I was in the presence of a great man whom I had known as a great lawyer but whom now I knew as a great patriot who could sacrifice everything for the country.

This intimate relationship which began, as it were, in a twinkling of an eye, lasted for the rest of his life. From that time till his death I had innumerable occasions to come in contact with him, to be with him at meetings, in private consultations and in other ways. His contributions to debates at the sessions of the Congress and the A.I.C.C. used to be marked for

the same kind of solid thoroughness which characterised his arguments in courts and there were occasions when he flared up if there was anything said which touched him to the quick.

One of the items in the non-cooperation programme was the boycott of legislatures which meant that those who followed the Congress lead should neither vote nor stand as candidates for election to any legislature — Central or Provincial. The first elections under the Reforms Act of 1920 came soon after the Non-cooperation resolution was passed and so Congressmen did not seek election and the vast electorate also abstained on a large scale from voting. The whole Non-cooperation movement gained much momentum in 1920-21 and the Government's reaction to it was severe repression including imprisonment of most of the leaders and thousands and thousands of Congressmen and women. Early in 1922 Mahatma Gandhi was also tried for sedition and sentenced to six years' imprisonment. As the sentences of most of the leaders expired, they came out one after another and in the latter half of 1922 a controversy arose as to whether the non-cooperation programme should be altered by withdrawing the item of boycott of legislatures. The whole Congress organisation became divided into two groups nicknamed as "Changers" and "No-changers". Deshbandhu Chittaranjan Das and Pandit Motilal Nehru were the leaders of the 'Changers'. Shri Rajagopalachari and Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel were the leaders of 'No-changers'. There was a trial of strength between the two groups at the annual session of the Congress at Gaya in which the 'No-changers' were successful. Deshbandhu Das and Pandit Motilal then formed a party within the Congress named the Swarajya Party. This controversy continued for some years until it was settled by a compromise when Mahatma Gandhi came out of prison.

It so happened that I was a 'No-changer'. In the heat of controversy we very often say and do things which are considered unnecessary if not undesirable in calmer moments, and this controversy was no exception. But in spite of the fact that I belonged to the opposite group Pandit Motilal's attitude towards me continued unaltered and when I look back upon those days I can see how noble and great he was. When later the Congress permitted its members to participate in elections but did not require them to do so, if they wished not to, elections were contested by the Swarajya Party and the 'No-changers' as a body did not take any active part in them. Panditji, however, asked me to help him in the campaign to get Swarajya Party

men elected which I did out of respect for him and in gratitude for this signal mark of confidence.

Pandit Motilal's work in the Central Legislative Assembly was remarkable not only for the contributions he made but even more for the consummate skill with which he managed not only the Congress party but other parties which had different and sometimes conflicting viewpoints but which joined in standing up against the Government on crucial matters. But as I was not in the Assembly, it will be for others who worked with him there to speak from personal knowledge. It was my privilege to live with him during the Civil Disobedience phase of the Movement in 1930. It so happened that Shri Jawaharlal Nehru was the President of the Congress and was in prison and Pandit Motilal Nehru who had been the President before him was left free for some time by the Government. He took up the work of the Congress once again as its President. Shri Sri Prakasa was the Secretary of the Congress but he too was in prison and as I had somehow escaped the Government attention for some months, I was carrying on the work under Panditji's direction. I used, therefore, to spend two or three days in the week with him at Allahabad and the remaining days in touring Bihar and other places. After leaving him alone for some months the Government found that the Movement was not coming under control, and, therefore, arrested him and sent him to prison. As soon as he was arrested, I felt my time was also up and indeed three or four days later I was also arrested. But both of us were given only 6 months in the first instance, with the result that we were both free and were working together again towards the end of the year. We started the work again in the same way. He was keeping very bad health. I found him work day and night, keeping late nights, reading papers, issuing instructions, dictating correspondence, etc. etc.

As I have said above I used to spend a good part of the week with him at Allahabad and the rest between Patna and Allahabad. I saw how his health ebbed away inch by inch and a time approached when serious doubts began to be entertained about his recovery. All kind of treatment was tried including Ayurvedic treatment by a distinguished Kaviraj of Calcutta. Dr. B.C. Roy was a constant visitor whenever his services were required. Jawaharlalji was in jail almost all this time but was released I think just when Pandit Motilalji's condition became serious. It was decided to move him to Lucknow. I was with him till that day. During the whole of this period in

spite of my constant protests he would not listen and went on dealing with correspondence, issuing instructions and otherwise doing all that was necessary for running the Movement. I remember the day when in the afternoon he was taken from Allahabad to Lucknow. I came to Patna the same evening only to hear a day later that he was no more and went back to Allahabad to pay my tributes to his memory.

Although my contact with him began only in 1920 and my association continued only for about 11 years, it was my privilege to know Pandit Motilal Nehru as a great lawyer, as a noble patriot, and if I may claim, to have enjoyed his paternal affection although it was only for a short period.

A MAGNANIMOUS MAN

DR. S. RADHAKRISHNAN

Motilal Nehru was born on the 6th of May 1861 in the city of Agra. This city is legitimately proud of its great citizen. He was a great lawyer, a great patriot, a great man, who had been incapable of anything mean or dishonourable. His personal charm and powerful character won him esteem from both Indians and Britishers. In every sense of the word, Motilal Nehru was a magnanimous man.

A TRUE LEADER

Centenaries are impressive occasions when we take stock of what the persons they commemorate have contributed to the world. It is possible to give a long list of the attributes and achievements of the late Pandit Motilal Nehru, his qualities of leadership and warm humanity, his patience and persistence, his determination and energy, his courage and force. All these have stamped his mark indelibly on the public life of our country. Here I shall confine myself to the political and social activities of Motilal Nehru.

The credit for Motilal's entry into politics goes to Gandhiji and Jawaharlal, apart from the forces of history. He is no brave man whose spirit does not rise when conditions are at their worst. Though accustomed to a very comfortable life and regarded as a great admirer of western style and manners, he subjected himself to the discipline which Gandhi imposed on his followers. Spinning and weaving of Khaddar had become obligatory for political workers. Khaddar became the bond of sympathy between the political workers and the millions of India. Motilal cast aside his foreign dress and put on Khaddar in Indian style and looked even more impressive and attractive in his new style. He hawked Khaddar in the streets of Allahabad. He joined the civil disobedience movement and suffered periods of imprisonment.

GREAT PARLIAMENTARIAN

In his political activities, two things stand out prominently. He was a great organiser, a great parliamentarian, and as the leader of the Swaraj Party in the Central Assembly, he set standards which we are striving to follow. From the visitors' gallery, I saw him on occasions at work in the Central Assembly as the Leader of the Opposition. Most distinguished in appearance as in intellect, he led the Opposition with great astuteness, legal acumen and parliamentary skill. He led the opposition to the Simon Commission. He presided over the All Parties Conference and drew up a Constitution for the country. The same year, 1928, he was the President of the Calcutta Session of the Indian National Congress. It was a great joy for him to see Jawaharlal take over from him as the Congress President. He quoted a Persian couplet which said, "What the Father has not been able to achieve, the Son will." He said that it would be the "Head of Gandhiji and the voice of Jawaharlal." In December 1929, the Lahore Congress under the presidency of Jawaharlal Nehru passed a resolution about the Independence of India. It was passed by an overwhelming majority exactly at midnight and with it the new year and the new era commenced. In his last moments, Motilal told Gandhiji, "I am going soon, Mahatmaji, and I shall not be here to see Swaraj, but I know that you have won it and will soon have it."

COMMUNAL HARMONY

Apart from his parliamentary work, Motilal Nehru laid the greatest stress on communal harmony and unity. It was not a mere tactical move on his part, but a deep-felt conviction, a part of his very being. When the country was torn by communal strife and when bitterness and violence were rampant, Gandhiji undertook a fast. Motilal presided over the Unity Conference and on September 26, 1924, the Conference resolved that the utmost freedom of conscience and religion was essential, and condemned any desecration of places of worship, to whatever faith they may belong, and pay persecution or punishment of any person for adopting or reverting to any faith and it further condemned any attempts by compulsion to convert people to one's faith or to secure or enforce one's own religious observances at the cost of the rights of others. This faith in communal harmony, religious fellowship is needed even today. Though we suffered in the past for our religious bigotry and communal dissensions, we have not yet learnt the needed lesson. The canker

of communalism is deep-seated in our body politic. We should do our utmost to root it out and cleanse our natures.

Motilal was a radical reformer not out of any false sentiment but very cool reason. Communal passions are inconsistent with the true spirit of religion or the traditions of our country.

FAITH IN INDIAN CULTURE

Jawaharlal Nehru told Gandhiji that in the last moments of his life, Motilal repeated the Gayatri Mantra though he never uttered it for nearly 40 years. According to it God is no longer an irate father or a stern judge but the light of lights, *jyotishaam jyotih*, the Spirit of light shining in the future, a light towards which we all endeavour to advance with faltering steps owing to our own unworthiness. Deep down Motilal Nehru had faith in Indian culture and its freedom of spirit, its capacity for healing the ills of men and nations. Motilal Nehru's life was marked by an essential fidelity to civilisation, which meant respect for human dignity and craving for human fellowship.

Indian culture has survived for nearly fifty centuries. Though it passed through many ups and downs it has come down to us with its unfathomable depths and great capacity for devotion and service. What constitutes the national spirit or genius springs from sources deep and ancient, all the time diverting and altering their course, now in flood but on occasions parched and dry. Those are the imponderables that bring history home to our consciousness and make facts look stranger than fiction. We have suffered defeat on many occasions. These misfortunes have not broken our spirit. After every blow, India found herself again and made advances in spite of pain and sorrow. Today, we are in one of the creative epochs of our history. We are trying our best to remould our heritage with insight into the profundities and awareness of the demands of our age.

The Akhil Bharat Sarva Seva Sangh asks us today to "dedicate our energies to the building of a co-operative cohesive, homogeneous community." If we undertake this work and carry it on we will be working in the spirit of that cordial, genial, dedicated servant of our country whose birth centenary we are celebrating now.

(Extracts from a speech delivered by the Vice-President Dr. Radhakrishnan, while inaugurating the centenary celebrations at Agra on 6th April, 1961).

A GREAT STATESMAN AND PARLIAMENTARIAN

K.M. PANIKKAR

It was in Madras during his visit to that city in 1923 in connection with the civil disobedience enquiry that I first met Pandit Motilal Nehru. I was then editing the "Swarajya", an English Daily, published in the interests of the Congress under the leadership of the late Andhra Kesari T. Prakasam. As the editor of a paper closely connected with Congress activities I had many opportunities of coming into contact with Panditji during his stay in Madras. I was glad to feel that he took kindly to me and on one occasion did me the honour of discussing with me the internal tensions of Madras Congress politics.

CONSULTATIONS AT DELHI

Sometime in March 1924, I was asked by Mahatma Gandhi to proceed to Amritsar to be the Liaison Officer with the Shiromani Gurudwara Prabandhak Committee in place of Acharya Gidwani who had been arrested by the Nabha authorities and sent to jail in the State. The S.G.P.C. had been declared an illegal body and it was not quite clear to me what I was expected to do there beyond report on developments to Gandhiji. I decided, however, to stop for a day or two at Delhi on my way to Amritsar and consult Panditji about my programme and generally take his advice as to my line of conduct. It was an exciting moment for a day or two before I arrived in Delhi; the Swaraj Party under Pandit Motilal's leadership had mobilised nationalist opinion and thrown out the budget on the sound constitutional plea of no supplies without satisfaction of political demands. So far as I remember Panditji was then living in Windsor Place and there I went to see him. When I explained what I had gone to him for he was particularly pleased; but added that it was a very difficult assignment I had been given; while following Gandhiji's instructions to the letter, I should use my own discretion in

dealing with daily developments. He also gave me the impression that some kind of negotiations were going on to settle the Akali question, and that Sir Malcolm Hailey, who was then Home Member, was actively interesting himself in solving the problem. He desired me to keep him fully informed of developments and asked me not to fail to call on him whenever I passed through Delhi. During the summer of the same year I had to go up to Simla fairly often with Sardar Mangal Singh and on all such occasions I made it a point of calling on Panditji and giving him an outline of what was happening in Amritsar.

AT ANAND BHAWAN

Soon, however, the Akali agitation was over and I took up my residence in Delhi in order to establish the "Hindustan Times". In September 1924 shortly after the "Hindustan Times" began its publication, I received a message from Mahatma Gandhi, who was then undergoing his first great fast, asking me to see him. His orders were that I should proceed to Calcutta, where the annual session of the Swaraj Party was to take place, and convey a message from the Mahatma to Pandit Motilal Nehru and Deshbandhu C.R. Das. The message was simply this: It was known that the leader of the Swaraj Party was planning to go to London to confer with the Labour Ministry on Indian affairs. In this connection, Gandhiji had been informed that the abdicated Maharaja of Nabha had approached the Swaraj Party leaders that they should also undertake to represent his case to the Secretary of State. As I had, in my capacity as Liaison Officer with the Sikhs, made various reports to Gandhiji on the Nabha question, he desired me to place all the facts within my knowledge before Panditji and Deshbandhu Das and convey on his behalf the message that he considered it inadvisable for them to mix up the Nabha affairs with the national politics. Before I left Delhi Maulana Mohammed Ali told me that it would be advisable for me to stop at Allahabad and put the matter first to Pandit Motilalji, and in this connection he especially warned me that I was likely to come up against the views of Mr. Asaf Ali, who, the Maulana informed me, had left for Calcutta to represent the case of the Maharaja. When I arrived at Allahabad I found Asaf Ali installed at Anand Bhavan. He could not guess why I had come and I was able to secure a private interview with Motilalji and put the case fully to him. He, of course, was alive to all aspects of the case and there was little new that I could tell him beyond Gandhiji's message. At Calcutta I re-

peated the message to Deshbandhu in the presence of Motilalji and I was asked by both of them to carry back a satisfactory reply.

MORE FREQUENT CONTACTS

During the budget session of 1925 I saw Panditji at least twice a week as the "Hindustan Times" was then the only Daily in the capital; and Panditji was desirous that the Swaraj Party's point of view should be fully reflected in the paper. During those three months the "Hindustan Times" was more or less the official paper of the Swaraj Party and consequently my contacts with Panditji were fairly intimate. The control of the paper was, however, acquired by the Sikhs by Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, and this affected Panditji's plans to some extent. He sent for me and said that it was his intention to start a weekly from Delhi which he desired me to edit. Later, after I left for Madras he wrote to me a long letter in his own hand saying how he was hoping to raise the money for this new journalistic venture.

The last time I met him was in London in 1927 when he had come to Europe on some legal work. I met him at Kensington Place Mansions where he was staying. Then also he reminded me of my promise to edit a weekly for him. The time for that had however passed. I could see he was only being friendly. I had also chosen a different path.

GREAT PARLIAMENTARIAN

The contribution of Pandit Motilal Nehru to the growth of Parliamentary life in India is something which cannot be over-emphasised. He was undoubtedly India's greatest parliamentarian and it is on the foundations which he, assisted by the brilliant Secretary-General of the Parliamentary party Shri A. Ranga-swamy Aiyengar, laid that we have been able to build our parliamentary democracy. If unlike in most of the newly independent countries of Asia Parliamentary democracy is functioning effectively in India and if opposition parties are able not only to make their voices heard but are considered essential features of democratic government contributing not only to the process of legislation but to the control of the administrative machinery, the credit for it is to a very large extent due to the courage, wisdom and dignity with which Motilal Nehru led the Swarajist opposition in the Central Legislature during the great national struggle.

COURAGEOUS STAND

He was a master of every aspect of parliamentary work. To emphasise the principle of "no taxation without representation" the nationalist opposition under his leadership threw out the budget. By refusing supplies he emphasised the autocratic nature of the regime in spite of the thin veneer of parliamentary institutions with which it was coated. But Motilal was not a believer in a policy of sterile obstruction. His criticism of legislative measures was always constructive. He served on the Sken Committee which enquired into the question of Indian Defence. He brought a free and unprejudiced mind to bear on major political issues and he was courageous enough to speak firmly against demands, however popular, which he considered to be against the true interests of India. A striking example of this characteristic of Motilal Nehru was the attitude he took in regard to the demand for the abolition of the jurisdiction of the Privy Council in Indian cases.

In fact his courage to stand up against what may be called popular prejudices was legendary in his own day. At a time when it was the fashion to equate social orthodoxy with patriotism Motilal Nehru stood out firmly for his modernist views of life. His reply to Mahatma Gandhi's letter regarding the allegation that he took alcoholic drinks at a party given by Tulsi Goswami is a classic instance which proclaims both the freedom of his mind and the courage with which he upheld his views. He refused to bend his knee at the altar of social obscurantism, and when accused of his food habits, during the elections of 1926 he scorned to buy public vote by a denial of his views.

CONSTRUCTIVE APPROACH

The constructive approach of Motilal to politics is best brought out in the circumstances which led to the Allahabad All Parties Conference and the formulation of the Nehru Report. A leader of the Non-cooperation Movement who had given up his legal practice, courted arrest, and sacrificed wealth and position, he was, at the same time, a statesman who realised that India must produce a solution to her own constitutional problems if Swaraj is to have any meaning. The All-Parties Conference at Allahabad was Motilal Nehru's reply to the insulting challenge of Birkenhead to Indians to produce an agreed constitution. The Nehru Report which emerged from those discussions was the first serious effort of India to put forward an agreed constitution. Taking into consideration the circumstances

of the time the solution it proposed for India's problems were wise and far-seeing.

A statesman of his calibre, modern in his outlook, constructive in his approach to politics, a great parliamentarian who set a model for generations to come, Motilal Nehru stands out giant among a galaxy of giants. His contributions to India's political life are many sided but I venture to think that the future will honour him mainly as the man to whom India owes its parliamentary traditions.



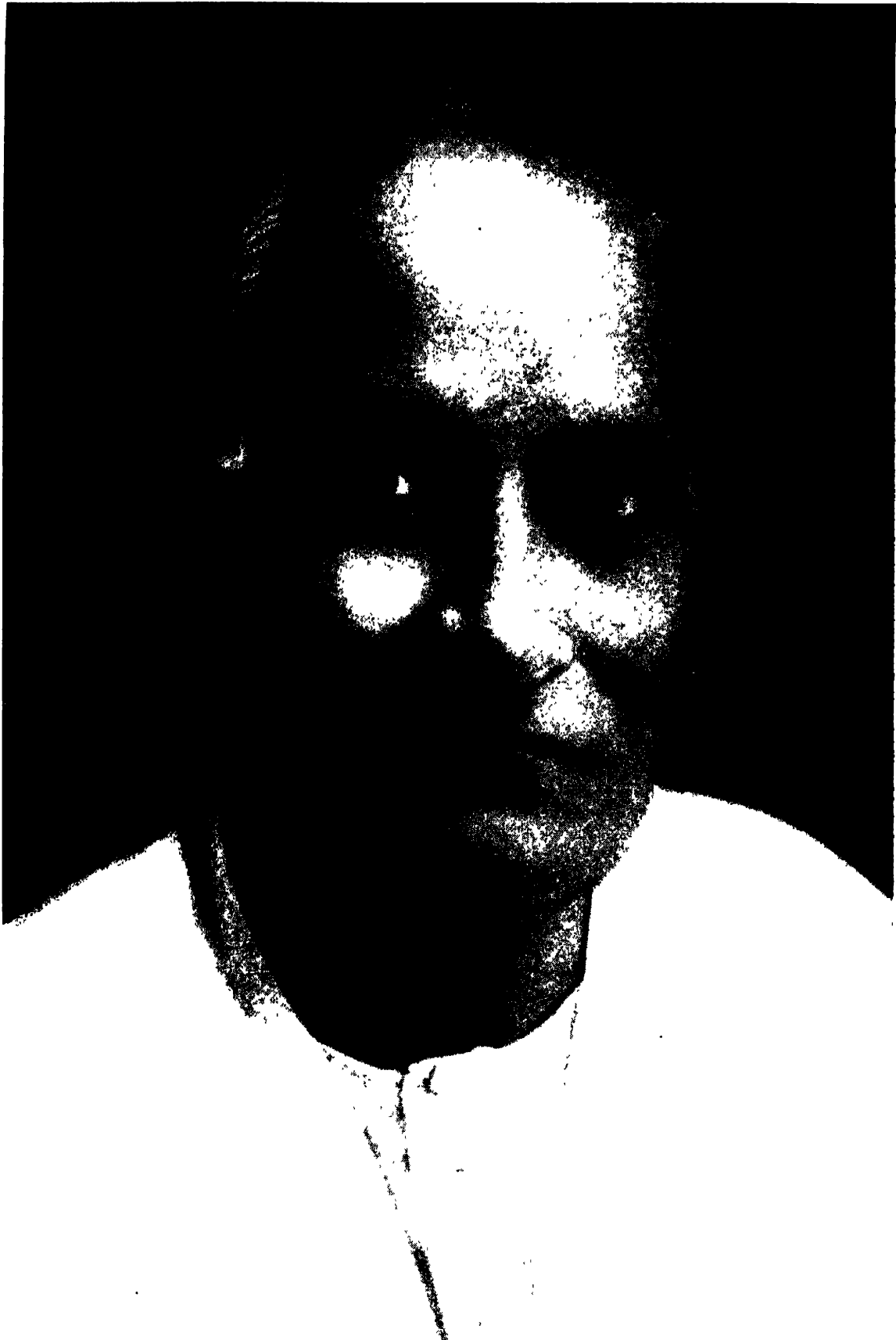
Motilal Nehru as Barrister



At work



In his study



As Congress President

A FASCINATING FIGURE

ASAF ALI

The Prince of Patriots, an aristocrat of the first water, a lawyer of unchallenged supremacy, a politician whose imperious behests made history, a leader who moved millions, an entertainer whose princely hospitality was unexcelled, Pandit Motilal Nehru was a fascinating figure of society and a great personality in Indian history. Motilal was a favoured son of fortune, endowed opulently with possessions that were enviously valued in the world. His sacrifices in the cause which he had espoused were stupendous and he was justly honoured by his country, — twice he wore the crown of national leadership. He died full of years and full of honours and, in one respect more than others, he died the happiest man; for he left behind him a worthy heir whose potentialities he knew. Of him he said, while vacating the Presidential gaddi of the Congress:

“Agar pidar no twanad
Pisar taman kunad.”

(What has been left incomplete by the father, shall be brought to a successful end by the son)

An iconoclast by nature, and a bold fighter, he stood for undiluted reform and unhampered advance in social matters no less than in political. His was the privilege of always fighting at the outposts. Born with a deep-seated pride of race and a keen sense of self-respect, he could brook nothing that touched his tender spots. Relentless as an opponent, he was generous as a victor, and none who came within his orbit could escape his infectious zeal. He was sensitive to a degree in matters which appeared to touch his pride as an Indian, and similarly he refused to allow his self-esteem from being even remotely compromised. As the leader of a party he was easily the first by sheer force of personality, and was capable of great tact when

he chose to exercise it, but his displeasure meant "no quarter", even though some important secessions might result from it.

Studied at close quarters, Motilalji revealed those dynamic qualities which never failed to impress themselves on those who had opportunities to come in contact with him. He demanded unwavering adherence and had little patience with vacillation or too emphatic difference of opinion. He had no hesitation in dispensing with the co-operation of those who could not see eye to eye with him. During the first year of the birth of the Swaraj Party, after boldly breaking away from the 'No-change' Party, he worked indefatigably, spent a princely fortune and indeed established his party on a firm footing. Some day when it becomes possible to write the full history of the Swaraj Party and the uphill task which Deshbandhu C.R. Das and Pandit Motilal had before them, the masterly strategy that Pandit Motilal adopted for overcoming the innumerable difficulties will surely claim a prominent chapter. He was almost constantly in physical agony, but his indomitable spirit was always supreme, and his enthusiasm unquenchable.

On one occasion in 1923, when the Congress had not yet blessed the Swaraj Party, he convened a meeting of the Executive Council of the Party up at Nainital and one morning, after dictating replies to the heavy bunch of letters he used to get, surprised his Executive Council, at about 8 in the morning, by producing a neatly written programme for the day which contained some 15 items of various importance, including brief replies to letters, and notes for the discussion that was to ensue. With fraternal good humour he said: "That is the way to work. I scribbled this down nearly 2 hours before you were out of your beds; and have you brought your notes?" The sheaves of telegrams he used to despatch daily must have been a heavy drain on his purse, for there was scarcely any party fund at the time. When I was sent to Calcutta to induce C.R. Das to agree to the special session of the Congress, which eventually came off at Delhi, to set its seal on the Swaraj Party, Deshbandhu pulled out a fat sheaf of urgent telegrams from his drawer and said: "Here are the imperious mandates of the Pandit which daily pour in from the heights of Nainital. I wish you would leave me alone and let me confine myself to my province. I am sick of these All-India proposals." However, he found reasons to agree to them, and the Party had its day at Delhi. Were it not for Pandit Motilal's determination to see it through, the Swaraj Party may not have emerged from Bengal

for some time at least. Again, those who worked with him in those difficult times knew what mountains of obstacles were surmounted by him. More than once the Party was at the end of its tether for a variety of reasons, but he saved it from the rocks and shoals and guided it safely into the haven. Were it not for increasing obduracy on the part of the officials, the Round Table Conference would have come off, six years before it came, and the history of the country would have perhaps been different today.

There were in the great leader amazing reserves of power. Some time you would go to him with a proposal for slackening your mental attitude, and even before you had time to unbosom yourself he would say "So here is a determined soldier, panting for breath. No Sir, there is no room for waverers in Swaraj Bhawan". But if you stuck to your guns, he would lash you with stinging irony so long as you persisted; but after an hour or two of sparring he would astonish you by presenting you with your own views clothed in a cautious garb and say "This is the way to get over it".

Travelling together to Calcutta to attend the momentous meeting of the Swaraj Party in 1923, he handed the draft of the resolutions, while preparing to use the atomiser, which was his constant companion, on account of his throat trouble, and said: "Just look over, and put down your suggestions". When the suggestions were submitted, he glanced through them and put away the draft saying; "We shall discuss them with Das". But I noticed that they were not acceptable. At the meeting of the Executive, I was not surprised to find him averse. But when Mr. Jayakar who arrived late revealed the same view he turned to me and said: "Well, here is the change, are you satisfied?" But in essentials he was adamant. Sometimes difference of views changed his opinion of persons most radically. Of a certain colleague, he once said: "He is decidedly an intellectual acquisition to the party", and after the lapse of some time, he angrily snapped, "Intellectual acquisition did I say! He is a pompous idiot!"

He had a fine presence commanding respect and reducing the opposition of the doughtiest to a tame show. His aesthetic taste glowed from his surroundings, and his aristocratic outlook on life remained unaffected by the Gandhian gospel of simplicity.

His human heart was most sensitive where Jawaharlal and his dear ones were concerned. On a certain occasion Jawaharlal, urged by his deeply democratic feelings, was drawn into a snare along with a certain political worker. Motilalji was in an irre-

pressible rage and said: "That crow has drawn the swan into the snare." He was bitter, as bitter he could be, and spoke in rasping tones of a high personage who indirectly had been the cause of the unexpected happening. His affection for Jawaharlal was touching, and one felt that there was nothing he was not prepared to sacrifice to see Jawaharlal happy.

The last time I had the privilege of having a heart-to-heart talk with him was in the beginning of the struggle in 1930. He was staying in New Delhi, and was in the best of spirits. He was confident of results, and appeared to be justly proud of the fact that Jawaharlal's leadership was made fruitful. His faith in Mahatmaji was unbounded, and he was resolved to stake everything on the historic 'gambler's throw'. He knew that the 'firmness' school of bureaucrats would help the movement in its progress and the excesses perpetrated in the name of "action" would unmask the true character of the administration, and awaken the will of the people to final assertion. "The more brutal the excesses, the more enthusiastic will be the demonstration of popular will", he remarked "So, why do you feel perturbed?" When I related the amazing remark of a bureaucrat after the first lathi charge and firing in Delhi which was — "will you please ask these people to disperse; for we do not want to kill a thousand men?" he turned to me and asked "and what was your reply"? I said "a suitable one". He eyed me quizzically and said; "why did you not challenge him to kill ten thousand. This alone would have been a suitable answer". Unbending in moments of resistance and provocation, he was not slow to come to honourable terms when an opportunity offered itself.

Pandit Motilal presented the happy confluence of three cultures — the Aryan, the Western and what I call the Urdu culture, otherwise generally misinterpreted as the Indian Muslim culture. As well-versed in Persian and Urdu as any cultured Indian of Hindustan, he had close affinities with the old school of Indo-Moghal or Urdu culture. Ready with apt quotations from Persian poets, he would introduce an original note into his speeches in the Assembly on important occasions, and in ordinary conversations he drew freely on Persian masters. With him has passed away a type, elegant and picturesque, from our social life, and in him India has lost one of her greatest sons.

I SHOULD HAVE REJOICED TO WELCOME HIM AS A COLLEAGUE

LORD MALCOLM HAILEY

I first met Pandit Motilal in 1910, when I visited Allahabad as a member of the Committee making preparation for the Royal Durbar of 1911, a body of which Sir John Hewitt, then-Lieutenant Governor of the United Provinces was the Chairman. Pandit Motilal's name was then widely known outside the United Provinces, but rather as a great lawyer and advocate than as a prominent politician. It is, I think, true to say that at that period the most prominent figures in the Indian political field were to be found in the Bombay and Bengal Presidencies; it was only some years later that the growth of the Congress movement brought the United Provinces into prominence.

But it was only some years after the date I just mentioned that I myself came into close contact with Pandit Motilal, when first as Chief Commissioner of Delhi, and then as Member of the Executive Council, I was called upon to take part in the proceedings of the Legislative Council. There was now no question of the prominence he gradually came to acquire in this field. As time went on, he became the acknowledged leader of the large party in the Legislature which, though it did not actually boycott the Legislative bodies created by the 1919 Reforms, was in steady opposition to the Government, and critical of its attitude on a great variety of the measures which were now brought into the range of Legislative discussion.

If I can trust my own memory (for I am at the moment wintering in Southern Spain, far away from books or other records of my past in India) there was now a progressive hardening, and Pandit Motilal's attitude towards British rule as such. In that attitude his position seemed to be uncompromising, though I myself doubt if he ever felt at home with that growing school of thought which felt that the ideal of true Swaraj demanded that India should rid herself of any vestige of European

manner of life and thought. He was too realistic to entertain any vision that India could best make good her position in the world by striving to return to what could now be only a visionary past. Nor am I quite sure how far Pandit Motilal was prepared to identify himself fully with the programme of the Congress organisation though he might approve of its objective. He, of course made clear his adherence to its position by adopting the traditional Indian Costume instead of the European style of dress he had worn when I first knew him. We all thought that in his new style of dress he stood out as one of the best dressed men in the Legislature.

When I became, in course of time, the leader of the Government side of the House, he and I were often at cross purposes in debate. If anything, this rather increased than diminished the respect I felt for his character. Like many of the Europeans in India of that day we knew that he had made great personal sacrifices in the interest of the cause he had espoused. We realised his sincerity and his absence of any personal rancour, virtues which in our opinion were as significant as the high intellectual level which he invariably displayed. If fate had not decreed that he should become an adversary, we should have rejoiced to welcome him as a colleague.

PANDIT MOTILAL NEHRU

DR. SACHIDANANDA SINHA

My intimate and affectionate relations with the late Pandit Motilal Nehru, extending over a period of nearly thirty-five years (1896-1931), I regard as one of the greatest privileges of my life. When I met him for the first time at Allahabad (in November, 1896), he had just turned thirty-five, and was at his zenith as a leading advocate and a great social figure. Born at Agra in May, 1861, and educated at a high school at Cawnpore, and later at the Muir Central College, Allahabad, he failed to graduate himself; and so passing the Intermediate examination, he appeared at the Allahabad High Court Law examination, and topped the list of successful candidates in 1883, and settled down to practise, at Cawnpore. One of his elder brothers, Pandit Nand Lal, was a leading advocate in the Allahabad High Court at the time. On his sudden death in 1886, Motilal transferred himself to the Allahabad High Court, and being an exceptionally sound and able lawyer, as also a skilful advocate, he managed to step into his brother's practice, before long. In 1896 (that is, only after ten years' practice in the High Court) he was raised by the Chief Justice, and his brother Judges, to the higher status of an Advocate, which placed him practically on the same footing as the Members of the English, Scotch or the Irish Bar — who enjoyed superior status at the time.

Early in life Motilal had adopted western ways and manner of living and was, when I met him first, perhaps the greatest social figure at Allahabad. Soon after my settling down (in October, 1896) at Allahabad, I got one of those attacks of malarial fever, which had compelled me to give up my practice in Bihar, and betake myself to the more salubrious climate of the then real but now the nominal capital of the United Provinces. After the fever had passed away, I was naturally dull and depressed for several days. The doctor, who was treating me,

prescribed various tonics, from time to time, but they failed to cheer me up; and so one day growing desperate he said to me; "I am going now to prescribe for you the best tonic I have in my repertory, and if that fails I fear I can do nothing for you; but I am sure it will not fail, as it has never failed so far." I asked why he had not prescribed that tonic before. He said: "For the simple reason that the tonic was not available here till yesterday, when he arrived." "What do you mean, doctor," I asked. "Is the tonic a medicine or a human being?" "Of course, a human being, or I would not have used the word 'he' for him". "Who on earth is he?" I asked. He said: "His name is Pandit Motilal Nehru." Of course, I had heard that name before, and was even thinking of calling on him soon after my recovery. But the way the doctor put it, calling him "the best tonic in his repertory", naturally roused my curiosity, and I begged of him to take me to him at once. He said: "I should wait for a couple of days to give Pandit Motilal a chance of settling down to normal conditions of life, after more than two months' absence during the long vacation of the High Court."

The doctor took me over to Motilal one evening soon after. The house I was then occupying was right at the back of Motilal's residence at that time — Elgin Road — several years before he moved into his now well-known house "Anand Bhawan", which he afterwards made over to the Congress for use as its headquarters. The Pandit received me most cordially, and soon made me feel quite at home. At the end of half an hour, I felt as I had known him all my life! By then it was dinner hour, and I got up to say good-night, but he insisted that we should dine together, and not only that, but he ordered his servant to get from my house the food that had been got ready for my dinner! And so we sat down to a joint meal of pot-luck. The sharing of the meal together that evening was the foundation of a friendship which lasted till his death in February, 1931. During this long period, in spite of some political differences, it grew with our growth and strengthened with our strength, and lasted (in his case) from shore to shore.

Then and for many years afterwards, until in fact he was past fifty, Motilal was exceedingly handsome and prepossessing in appearance. He had charming manners, and was a man of strong individuality. He retained his good looks even in his old age. This is how a German journalist, who met him, described him in a German journal: "When Pandit Motilal lays aside his gold spectacles and takes off his white Khaddar head-

dress, he closely resembles an ancient Roman. He wears his robe of hand-spun, hand-woven Indian wool as if it were a toga, and when he raises his finely-modelled right hand, one feels that he could teach Mussolini the proper way to make a Roman salute! Before you attempt to discover what manner of man he is, you are captivated by his presence and bearing." Apart, therefore, from his political leadership during the last dozen years or so of his life, he occupied naturally a very unique position in the social life of Upper India, in general, and Allahabad, in particular. When in 1920, he became a prominent figure in the "new" Congress (discarding the old, constitutional methods and embarking on non-cooperation and civil disobedience) he discarded his tons of European clothes and locked them up for ever—even going to the length of burning a few of them at one time — a number of newspapers, addicted to cheap sensationalism, concocted silly stories evidently with a view to magnifying his sacrifice not only in renouncing his extensive and lucrative practice but also his luxurious habits of ease and comfort. They reiterated, for instance, that until he adopted the Khaddar costume, his shirt had been sent to Paris for being laundered, which was sheer nonsense. But it was a fact that Motilal was extremely particular in his dress, and used to attire himself in fashionably-made and expensive clothes according to the strict conventions and usages of the West.

I remember, for instance, Motilal's appearance at the Mayo Hall, Allahabad, in May, 1907, when he presided over the first session of the United Provinces Conference. Though the heat was intense, the weather being the hottest at that time in Upper India, Motilal was dressed in braided, one-buttoned dark-grey morning coat, fancy striped trousers, and patent leather boots—every sartorial detail from the pearl pin in his foulard silk cravat down to the lavender spats over the varnished boots, bespeaking the meticulous care in dress for which he was then famous — sweltering and sweating, and all the time wiping his face with a silk handkerchief, melting as he was with profuse perspiration, and reading out his presidential address, which was a slashing and a vigorous attack on the then exponents of, what he called, the "extremist" school! No one, who like myself, knew him intimately at the time — or even till a dozen years after could ever conceive the Motilal of those days developing into the 'Khaddar-clad' protagonist of the "Independence" party in the country, and living to make the deserted village of Allahabad — which had been practically abandoned

by the provincial Government for Lucknow, so much so that even the Bombay Mail did not think it worthwhile to go direct — the central headquarters of Indian nationalism by presenting, to the public, his spacious residential house, Anand Bhawan, which as Swaraj Bhawan was, for years, justly regarded as a place of pilgrimage by the members of the Congress party, until the Congress headquarters were removed to Delhi.

II

As an advocate Motilal was admittedly one of the greatest that India has produced, and I say this after having worked with, and watched the conduct of cases of, some of the greatest advocates — British and Indians — of the Calcutta, Allahabad, and Patna High Courts. During the fifteen years that I practised in the Allahabad High Court I had frequent opportunities of watching his work, and I came to entertain a very high opinion of his skill in advocacy. He used to address the court not only in faultless English, and with perfect command over his case, but also with singular charm and elegance. In the cold weather of 1914-15, he and I were opposed to each other, for months, in a big civil trial in the court of Subordinate Judge in ——— in which Jawaharlal Nehru was his father's junior. His case was admittedly a weak one, and he lost it, but like all great advocates, Motilal was seen at his best when his case was the weakest. As he himself used to repeat the old tag at the Bar: "any fool can argue a strong case, but it requires a truly great advocate to sum up a weak one." He made perhaps the greatest impression as an advocate not on a Judge in the Allahabad High Court, or the Oudh Chief Court, where later he enjoyed for years a large practice, but (strange as it might sound) on the Chief Justice in the Patna High Court, where he appeared for the first and the last time, in 1928, in the "Searchlight Contempt Case".

The contempt proceedings against the "Searchlight" of Patna — then a thrice-weekly journal — were heard by a Full Bench of five Judges, presided over by Sir Courtney Terrell, the Chief Justice, who himself had issued a rule to show cause why the editor should not be dealt with for contempt, for certain editorial comments on a judgement delivered by the Chief Justice. The "Searchlight" was lucky in securing, through me, "free of cost", the services of two such eminent and renowned advocates as Pandit Motilal Nehru and Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru. Motilal's advocacy made a very great impression on the Chief

Justice. It is popularly believed that he was so favourably impressed with Motilal's skill, tact, and suavity that, although he imposed a fine on the editor of the paper, he nevertheless went out of his way to recommend Motilal to the late Maharajadhiraja (Sir Rameshwar Singh) of Darbhanga, in terms, which induced the latter to engage the Pandit in a big civil suit of his — pending at the time at Agra. Motilal appeared in this case for months, and it is believed that this was perhaps the fattest brief he had during his long career at the Bar. But though he amassed a fortune at the Bar, Motilal lived well, even when he had renounced, in 1920, western habits and mode of living and did not save much. He kept throughout his life an open table and spent lavishly on things which appealed to him, for the time being. Taking him, all in all, he was one of the most remarkable Indians I have known.

III

Motilal's career as a political leader, during the last twelve years of his life, is well-known. But I doubt if even now it is realised for how long and how staunch an advocate he was of rigid constitutionalism and moderation in public affairs. I have referred above to his inaugural address as the President of the first United Provinces Conference, in 1907. But so late as 1913, when the Islington Commission on the Public Services came to Lucknow, Motilal appeared as witness before it, and on certain important points gave evidence of so meek and mild a character that it was the subject of scathing comments, on the ground of being tame and halting, in the Indian Press, amongst others, in the 'Leader' which had been founded (in 1909) to fight the reactionarism of the Government on the one hand, and political extremism on the other. He and I were both members of the original batch of the directors of the papers and he was the first Chairman of the directorate. It was not till 1918 that he began to break off from constitutionalism and became an advocate of direct action.

Even so late as August, 1917, when he presided at the second United Provincial Conference, held at Lucknow, Motilal exhorted the audience to have faith in the British people. Someone — believed to be his son, Jawaharlal Nehru — shouted out at this statement "question", and Motilal queried back at once: "Who else is the arbiter of our destiny, if it is not the British democracy? Has anyone ever heard of a man deciding his own case? My point is: here is a question arising between us and

the bureaucracy, and who is to decide it? If the answer is 'one of the parties shall decide it', I say it is trash; it is impossible; it has never been done; and it can never be allowed. There must be a third Judge." And that Judge, as he insisted, was the British democracy, which was the final arbiter, in his opinion, between the Anglo-Indian bureaucracy and the Indian people. His faith, however, in British democracy was rudely shaken by the happenings in the Punjab, in 1919, when (in the Christmas week of that year) he presided, for the first time, at the Amritsar session of the Congress, at which I also was a delegate.

In his presidential address, dealing with the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms, which had just then been inaugurated, Motilal appealed to Congressmen "to work the new reforms, utilise them for the betterment of the country, and continue to press and agitate for our full demands." "Let us not belittle the good that the Act does us", he continued, and added that "we must recognise that it gives us some power, and opens new avenues of service for us." He summed up by saying: "Our clear duty, in the circumstances, is to make the most of what we have got, and at the same time to continue to press for what is our due." Even so late as the Madras session of the Congress held in 1928, Motilal said: "I am for complete independence — as complete as any Dominion possesses it today — provided I get it before it loses all attraction." The German journalist, quoted above, confirms the view of Motilal's moderation in politics, in the following terms: "His devotion to the cause of India, the magnitude of his own personal sacrifices, and the purity of his motives are above suspicion. But since the beginning of his political career, he has consistently maintained the reputation of being a moderate. People suspect that at the bottom of his heart he does not quite believe such orthodox dogmas as the political panacea of the domestic spinning wheel, so dear to the followers of Gandhiji. Incidentally, one can scarcely imagine any greater inner or outer contrast than that between Gandhiji and Motilal. Malicious critics assert that they are alike only in their extremely autocratic manner of ruling."

IV

Hard experience, however, and the improper treatment meted out to him personally by successive local Governments — ending in a series of terms of imprisonment — embittered him against the British connection with India, and made him live and die the last years of his life as avowedly hostile to British rule in

the country. No doubt, various causes contribute to his tremendous change in his mentality and outlook, but there can be no doubt that it was mainly traceable to the unjustifiable and wrong policy of the then British Indian Government. Any way, no Indian filled the Political stage with greater brilliance as the "leader of the opposition" in the Legislative Assembly than did Motilal during the last few years of his life. There he outshone everyone, not excluding the trained and experienced administrators on the Government benches. He was not in any sense an orator, nor even a debater, (say, of so high an order as, for instance, Gokhale); but he combined in himself many of the elements which go to make up a great politician and a great party leader. These added to the charm of a striking personality, made him the greatest political and social figure in the Legislative Assembly during the few years that he adorned it.

Above all, he was endowed with a keen sense of humour, the highest manifestation of which is the capacity to take a joke against one's self. I was present in the gallery of the Assembly when, in the course of an important debate, Motilal was speaking, with great earnestness, on the question of constitutional reforms. He said, addressing the President: "Sir, we are thinking of nothing but Swaraj — Swaraj in the morning, Swaraj at noon, Swaraj in the evening, Swaraj at all times". Just then well-known chartered libertine of the Assembly interjected the remark "then, when do you spin?" This was a terrible crash — a mighty anti-climax from a debate of life and death importance to one of irrepressible banter of the lightest touch. But far from trying to turn the tables, Motilal stopped immediately and joined with the rest of the Assembly in a hearty and hilarious laughter! That was Motilal all over. Political work in every country, and at all times, is bound to be, for obvious reasons, more or less ephemeral. Who reads today even the memorable oratorical feats of Bright or Gladstone. They have all passed into oblivion. And so it has been in the case of Motilal. But I have no doubt that now that India had attained independence, Motilal's speeches will have to be resurrected, and they may yet play a great and important part.

V

About the only failure in Motilal's otherwise brilliant career as a political organiser and public leader, during the years 1919 to 1931, was connected with the starting of a daily newspaper,

in English, at Allahabad, called "The Independent", which appeared in February, 1919, under the best of auspices, but it came to grief before long, and had to be closed down. For in the first issue of the paper Motilal himself wrote a leading article, the following passages from which will still be read with great interest: "The Independent" has come into existence to lay bare the soul of a nation, of a people ripening into nationhood, of communities merging into a people, of individuals growing into a community. How shall it approach its noble work? Or better still, how not? Not along the facile line of opportunism, the fatal line of least resistance which stifles the soul and perverts the mind. Not by methods of cabal, camera and camarilla, which bring no lasting good, and only distort the outlook. But by bringing the fierce light of day to play on dark spots wherever they exist. By giving expression to the plain impressions of the lay mind, in plain language. By striving to press home the eternal truth that while, on the one hand, natural rights of mankind cannot be withheld to be doled out in little bits with a consciousness of high-minded generosity and a benignly benevolent purpose; those rights cannot, on the other hand, thrive in an atmosphere of religious cleavage and racial antagonism. Thus alone can "The Independent" fulfil its mission."

These were high and noble ideals, but unfortunately, they could not be — or, at any rate, were not — carried out. What with his multifarious activities at the time, his many irons in the fire, and his absolute inexperience of journalism, Motilal could not exercise any effective control, and so after a large amount of money had been sunk on it, the paper had to be closed down within less than three years from its first appearance, in February, 1919. The only interesting episode that I may recall in connection with his journalistic enterprise was my taking part in a discussion with him regarding the various suggestions for the name of the paper. That ultimately chosen was "The Independent", but Motilal himself was very keen that it should appear as "The Vanguard." As usual with him, he propounded his view with great force, and then turned to ask the opinion of his friends. Many of those present supported him. When he asked me what I thought of it, I said I would accept it with but a slight change in the first syllable of the proposed name. "What is the change you would like to have", he asked me snappishly. I meekly replied that I would prefer it to be called "The Blackguard"! "Aha", he said, promptly "You have

done me a great service, for if I stick to my own opinion and call the paper 'The Vanguard', the d-d moderate journals are sure to refer to it, sometime or other, as 'The Blackguard', and so I withdraw my proposal. The paper shall be called now 'The Independent'." And so it was that the name "The Independent" came to be adopted. The late Syed Hossain — later our first Ambassador to Egypt — who had been living as Assistant Editor on the staff of the "Bombay Chronicle" — had been brought out as the Editor. He was a capable journalist, but suffered from lack of business experience, and could not make up for it by his other qualities. And so after incurring a heavy loss, Motilal had to close it in the third year of its existence. Pandit Jawaharlal, after very kindly reading this sketch, wrote to me in November, 1949:

"Soon after the 'Independent' was started, my father became so much involved in national politics that he could not give any time to the newspaper. That was the period when Gandhiji came on the scene and affected us all, the Satyagraha Sabha was started, Martial Law was proclaimed in the Punjab, and so on, and so forth. Some little time after, we all went to prison, so that the poor 'Independent' could not be looked after at all."

VI

Of Pandit Motilal's bonhomie, joviality, hail-fellow-well-metness, and striking sociability, I could recall many an interesting story, and in fact, I could fill a volume with his anecdotes. But I shall recall a few only. Whenever he came to Patna, he always stayed with me, and not unoften brought with a number of common friends to stay with him, in my house. Once in 1924, while I was still a Member of Government of Behar and Orissa, on the reserved side, there was a terrible *contretemps* in the Swarajist party, of which Motilal and C.R. Das were the greatest leaders. The incident happened in the Central Provinces and Berar Legislative Council. A prominent member of the Swarajist party, in the provincial legislature, had taken an active part in defeating the Ministry. He had more than once voted successfully for the reduction of the Minister's salary to a nominal sum of few annas, or a few rupees. He was naturally held, therefore, in great esteem in Swarajist circles, as a successful organiser against the Montagu-Chelmsford dyarchical scheme of Governor-in-Ministry. The then Governor of the Central Provinces, Sir Montagu Butler, succeeded, however, in firing

the imagination of that Swarajist leader, and in including him to become a Member of his Executive Council, and so the quondam Swarajist leader found himself, all of a sudden, installed as a Member of Government, on the reserved side, that is, in charge of even more important departments of administration than were under the control of the Ministers, whom he had ousted successfully by carrying motions reducing their salaries to the rather despicably low amount of a few shillings a year.

The announcement of this appointment produced naturally a most tremendous furore throughout the length and breadth of India, as it was regarded, not unjustly, as a great triumph for the diplomacy and tact of the British Governor in capturing a live Swarajist and a great defeat consequentially of the Swarajist as a party. C.R. Das, who was then living, at Patna, with his brother P.R. Das (then a High Court Judge), and was naturally very perturbed at the announcement, came and told me that he had wired to Motilal to come over as soon as possible, from Delhi, with number of other prominent Swarajists to confer about the matter inasmuch as he (C.R.) was unable to go to Delhi, on account of his ill-health. I asked him: "Where are these worthy compatriots of yours going to stay here?" "They are going to stay", he said, "as a matter of course with you, and nowhere else, for yours is admittedly the best family hotel in Patna." "That is very complimentary," I said, "but I had rather they stayed away from me, for I am at present a Member of Government, whose touch, I am asked to believe, is apt to cause pollution to the Swarajists."

"That may be in the legislatures", said C.R. curtly, "but not at home. So there: I am off, and you make the necessary arrangements for putting up Motilal and the three or four others with him". As soon as he left, I got a telegram, from Delhi, from Motilal himself, saying that he would be reaching by the evening Express along with several friends, of whom Mr. Rangaswami Iyengar, Mr. T. Sherwani and Mr. N.C. Nelkar would be staying with him at my house. And so they did arrive. There was a great demonstration by the local Swarajists on the station platform, on their arrival. The three Swarajist leaders raided my house, while the others stayed with C.R. at his brother's house, for the political mission, which brought Motilal and his party to Patna, they sat in solemn conclave till the small hours of the morning, and sent a despatch to the recalcitrant member of the Swarajist party, who had accepted an exalted and lucrative office under the Crown. But their protest was of no avail,



Motilal Nehru and Mahatma Gandhi



A Family Group at Anand Bhavan, Allahabad, in 1925. Sitting (L to R) Swarup Rani Nehru, Motilal Nehru and Kamla Nehru and standing Jawaharlal Nehru, Vijayalakshmi Pandit, Krishna Nehru, Indira Nehru and Ranjit Pandit



Motilal Nehru with Jawaharlal Nehru in Naini Jail where the latter was imprisoned from April to October, 1930



Motilal Nehru with Krishna Nehru (sitting extreme left) and Madan Atal and others during his visit to Calcutta in 1928

as that refractory gentleman refused to resign the high post he had accepted. Not only that, but in course of time he rose to be a temporary Governor of the Central Provinces and Berar, and I have no doubt that his province was all the better by reason of having secured his efficient and valuable services as an administrator for a period of more than five years.

The second incident I shall recount was on the occasion of another visit of Motilal's to Patna. I have mentioned above his engagement in a very important civil trial at Agra, to which the then Maharajadhiraja of Darbhanga was party, and in which Motilal was engaged at an enormous fee. Sir Rameshwar Singh's eldest son (the present Maharajadhiraja, Sir Kameshwar Singh) wanted to give Motilal some instructions about the case, and so he came from Allahabad to Patna. As he was suddenly called by the Maharajadhiraja, and had to get into train at a moment's notice, he had no time to send me a telegram intimating his arrival. Now it so happened that while Motilal was travelling down from Allahabad to Patna, I was journeying up from Patna to my house at Allahabad; and soon after my arrival at the latter place, I received an express message from him worded as follows: "Am looking after your Patna house and your guests in your absence. Don't worry. All well." I wired back: "Glad you there. Make yourself quite comfortable. Arriving to-morrow." On my coming back to Patna, Motilal told me that when he had arrived the previous morning, the Maharajadhiraja's agent had met him at the station and offered him to drive to the Raj House. He proceeded: "I asked him 'Is the Maharajadhiraja here?' "No", said the agent: "he would be coming here today, by noon, to meet you." "Where are you then taking me to?" I asked him. "To the Raj House", he said. "Who will look after me in the Maharajadhiraja's absence?" "I shall do my best," said the agent. "How will you do your best? Can you give me some tea immediately?" "No, Sir, that I cannot do. But I have arranged for some sweetmeats for your breakfast." "Sweetmeats for my breakfast! Why, I shall fall ill immediately, and be quite unfit for any serious mental work by the time your master arrives here. Please drive me to Mr. Sinha's house, where I can make myself at home and live my own life". "But, Sir," said the agent, "you have now come at the gate of the Raj House". "I would go back from the gates of heaven to Mr. Sinha's house, to have there a decent breakfast, if I was going to get nothing in the heaven but sweets only. Do please drive me back." And so, said Motilal, he had come to

my house, made himself quite at home, and sent me the telegram mentioned above.

Later, when I met the Maharajadhiraja he told me that having heard (on his arrival at Patna) the story of Motilal having come away from his to stay at my house, he had come over, immediately, to see him. He said he was agreeably surprised to find Motilal ordering about, in my house, my staff of servants, entertaining his friends at tea, and doing other similar things, just as if he was not a guest in my house, but the host himself. I told the Maharajadhiraj that those were exactly our relations, and had been so for nearly thirty years, and that, in spite of our latter-day political differences, I looked up to him as my elder brother, and he always treated me just as an elder brother should treat a younger one in our country.

In private life Motilal was an ideal gentleman. His liberal-mindedness was well known. He was a great social reformer and had the courage of his conviction. Very early in his life he defied orthodoxy of his near relatives by dining openly with the British Principal of the Muir Central College. He was the first member of his community to break the custom of *purdah*. He refused to undergo the ceremony of "expiation" on his return from England, in 1899. Though neither of his two daughters was sent to England to complete her studies, yet each of them received a liberal education. He was an ardent champion of female education, and he moved the resolution recommending the removal of the disabilities of sex, and a grant of franchise to women on an equal basis with men, at the session of the Social Congress, held at Bombay in 1918. His liberal views on social reform were clearly enunciated in the presidential address he delivered at Social Conference at Agra, and at the Patel Marriage Bill Conference at Delhi. His only son — Jawaharlal — was destined to rewrite the history of modern India as its first Prime Minister.

Motilal possessed many great qualities. In addition to uncommon intellectual gifts, he possessed businesslike methods, a masterful personality and concentrated earnestness of purpose, all of which made him a successful leader and organiser. In spite of his rather autocratic temperament — which not unoften manifested itself in his relations with his colleagues and co-workers — he knew how to handle men and affairs. If he was a great and an able advocate, he was also a formidable adversary as a politician. With these remarkable qualities he displayed, though late in life, a spirit of self-sacrifice which was patently demonstrated when he gave up his extensive and lucrative practice,

devoted himself heart and soul to the cause of the country, and even courted imprisonment, more than once, during the non-cooperation days. It is not surprising that endowed with such high qualities, and with so splendid a record of public service, he should have become the idol of the people, during the last twelve years of his life.

The most notable characteristics of Motilal's on the intellectual side were his sanity, level-headedness, strong common-sense, and above all a supreme sense of expediency; and on the emotional side his patriotism and self-sacrifice. He could and did deal hard blows without being bitter, and could forget and forgive equally hard blows dealt him by his opponents. He and Sir Tej Bahadur Saprú had for years been very sharply divided in political opinion; and yet on the Nehru Committee and the All-Parties Conference he worked with him in the heartiest co-operation. Similarly, he and Mr. Lajpat Rai attacked each other with great energy and vehemence, soon after the withdrawal of the latter from the Swaraj Party and yet only after a few months they became the best of friends and colleagues. 'No-changers' — amongst Congressmen — had called him by all sorts of harsh names, when he and Chittaranjan Das had broken away from the orthodox non-cooperation fold. And yet he had no difficulty in forgetting all that when the hour for united action came. This great lesson the Congressmen of today may learn with advantage from Motilal's instructive career.

As regards the Government, they knew that it was impossible to have a more generous or more chivalrous opponent than Motilal for he would never take any mean advantage, nor set down aught in malice. His public references to Government, either as President of the Congress, or as Leader of the Opposition, were models of dignified speech. In point of fact, he was the one statesman *par excellence* of the new school of Indian nationalism. It was his possession of these great qualities and characteristics that made him so priceless an asset to the country, and it is no disparagement of any other new Congress leader to say that none of them has been able to fill the exact place that Motilal deservedly occupied both in the Congress and in the public life of the country. Even now as one reads the magnificent tributes paid to the great memory of Motilal in the Legislative Assembly by Sir George Rainy, the then Leader of the House, the thought strikes vividly that this was the first time in British Indian history that the record of a Leader of the Opposition received such a genuine appreciation from the Gov-

ernment of the day. The great Gokhale, who had been a member of the old Imperial Legislative Council, for a much longer time than Motilal, and who left behind him a truly unique record of very valuable work as a critic of legislation, administration and finance which has been seldom equalled and never surpassed, did not receive any such tribute from Lord Hardinge, who (as the President of the Imperial Legislative Council) made the reference to his memory. And so it was Motilal who was the first among India's great leaders to fill the highly important place of a true Leader of the Opposition, as long as he was in the Assembly.

It was this fact, coupled with his intellectual eminence and high character, that won for him a parliamentary tribute of which any Leader of the Opposition, even in the British House of Commons, might well have fittingly received. I may quote a few sentences from this official classic tribute. "That he will fill a large space in the historian's pages, said Sir George Rainy, 'none of us can doubt.' He had a personality which impressed itself on the most unobservant. Eminent as a lawyer, eminent as a speaker, and in the first rank as a political leader, he could not but take the foremost place wherever he might be, whether within these walls or outside. The quickness of his intellect, his skill in debate, his adroitness as tactician, and his strength of purpose, rendered him a formidable adversary in controversy." Again: "we shall not again see in this House his well-remembered figure, but we shall often recall that exquisite fitness of attire which aptly symbolised the clean fighter and the great gentleman, and that impressive face deeply-lined and careworn, on which character and intellect were so deeply imprinted." There is not another instance in India's political history in which the Leader of the Government party in the Legislature paid such a glowing and yet perfectly well-deserved tribute to a political opponent.

Had his lot been cast in a politically free country, there is no official position to which Motilal could not have justly aspired. In Britain, he could easily have risen to be the Prime Minister, and in France or the United States he could equally easily have become the President. But in India, the path of glory and of duty, as he saw it, led him but repeatedly to prison. It could have been no pleasure to the Government, for which Sir George Rainy spoke, to have, time after time, consigned to prison a man of Motilal's position, influence, enlightenment and culture. This much must be said in truth and in candour. But while that

is so, the fact is there, that to prison Motilal had to go, and that it was his lonely and miserable life in prison that aggravated the illness to which he eventually succumbed. True, he was released as soon as the Government realised the gravity of his illness, but he was a free man at the time of his death by sufferance and not by right. Had the policy of the Government been permitted to work itself out, without regard to humanity, he would have died in prison. The thought could scarcely have been absent from the mind of the Viceroy when he sent his message of sincere condolence to his widow, or of Sir George Rainy when he pronounced his glowing tribute to the departed Leader, or of the Secretary of State when he expressed his desire to be associated with the Government of India in its expression of regret and sorrow — all genuine, beyond doubt.

Now what a melancholy reflection is here forced on one's mind! He who in any of the free countries of the West, or in any other self-governing land, might have spent his last days as the virtual dictator of his country was in India doomed to die as a declared rebel against the law of the land, and the authority of the Government. And yet there was no way except one — that of India acquiring Independence — in which the unnatural state of things, a state of things against reason, against justice, against the interest of both India and Britain and against the peace of both countries, could have ended, as it did in August, 1947. But howsoever that be, the career of Motilal Nehru will continue to serve as a beacon-light to generation of Indians yet unborn, and will illumine the path of Indian reformers amidst their dark and cheerless surroundings. This is that his activities will continue to "Smell sweet and blossom in their dust."

IN THE ASSEMBLY

DURGA DAS

A fuller sketch of Pandit Motilal's mission in life and his services to the cause of Indian Swaraj will be the task for a future historian, but there can be no doubt that no more picturesque and gallant figure than he strode on the stage of the Legislative Assembly. There were some who excelled him in particular spheres, but none who commanded an equal respect and attention all round. There was Sir William Vincent who in the first Assembly carried the greatest weight and authority that none of his official successors have commanded. There was Sir Malcolm Hailey who in brilliance of his speech remains unexcelled, to this day. There was Mr. Jinnah who created exceptional Parliamentary effect by his manners and delivery. There was Mr. Jayakar, who, in spite of his mid-Victorian style of oratory became the 'Star' speaker of the House. There was Pandit Malaviya whose fluency of speech won every one's admiration. But Pandit Motilal was a unique figure in the Assembly politics, and with him will be associated, so long as parliamentary institutions remain and develop in this country, the fathership of Parliamentary life in some very definite spheres. Mr. V.J. Patel, alone, stands with him, not as a rival but as a coadjutor.

It has been my good fortune — perhaps itself unique — of watching uninterruptedly from the Press Gallery of the Legislative Assembly all those who have been associated with its work during a decade. And the impressions given in this article are therefore those formed of the complete picture and not of its particular phases.

The first Assembly though largely popular had inherited the traditions of the Imperial Legislative Council both in tone and in the outlook on the problems it faced. It was a Moderate Assembly and its success was due to the fact that it had a very considerable array of talented men, who, in the sphere of

debate, but not of politics, carried great weight. And the sympathetic attitude that Sir William Vincent, of the Rowlatt Bill fame, had adopted was the real factor that contributed to the success of the First Assembly in the field of removal of such age-long grievances as the Press Act, repressive legislation and racial distinctions in criminal law. But from the parliamentary point of view the First Assembly hardly broke new ground except for the tone set by Sir Frederick Whyte in the conduct of the Chair, which in its technical side, was really very praiseworthy. It was the Second Assembly that marked the beginning of Parliamentary conventions and traditions in their truer sense. The advent of gifted leaders like Pandit Motilal, Pandit Malaviya and Mr. Jinnah provided the Second Assembly a new ideal in leadership and a new tone in debate. When the House met for the first time, I well remember the impression it left on every one's mind. It was generally agreed that Pandit Motilal was a charming and easily the most striking personality in the House. And this title of his, remained unannexed during his membership. Indeed so great was the fascination woven round his Khadi-clad person that when he decided to remove his whiskers, there was fear caused in artistic circles that perhaps the most charming characteristic had disappeared. Soon there was a flutter among the Simla ladies and they waited in deputation on Pandit Motilal requesting him to regrow them. The Pandit who was as great on the light side of life as in the serious field of politics rose equal to the occasion. He did not disappoint the ladies and promised carefully to consider their request. But in a fortnight's time the ladies, including Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, had all voted that the Pandit even without the whiskers, was as charming as with them.

It was not, however, merely a charming personality that he leaves behind. He was the first Leader of Opposition in the Reformed Assembly and he has left behind a Bench which has become the coveted prize among his successors. It was constitutional barrenness that had condemned him to a life of perpetual 'opposition' but he was acknowledged the *de facto* Leader of the House because it was his word that carried weight with the House and not that of the Official Leader.

But I may be asked what is it in the domain of practical work that he has left behind as a Leader of Opposition. It is true that he was not an orator, nor the best speaker of the House but he was a great advocate, a gifted politician and a statesman. He leaves behind for his successors the gift of leader-

ship, the art of striking with lightning speed when the opponent is weak, and to manoeuvre successfully for position when the opponent is strong and on the offensive. These were the tactics peculiarly suited to 'permanent opposition'. He showed the House what party politics meant, he introduced and insisted on discipline among his rank and file — a discipline which became a watch-word in the lobby and was sometimes even spoken of as tyranny and 'Nawabism' of the mighty Pandit; but the Pandit went about his way unconcerned and ruled the party. I may quote only one typical instance of his method of work. He would summon a party meeting to determine who should be backed for being put on a particular standing committee of the House. He would begin by saying: Gentlemen, I have nominated Mr. Rangaswami Iyengar, or Mr. Jamnadas Mehta, or Mr. Shanmukham Chetty, as the case may be, to go on to this Committee and you propose the rest. This no doubt caused some heart burning but he insisted on the right men being ensured against internal party ballot. This, really, was a very important characteristic of his party leadership. He believed in picking the best men and making them work, confining himself for intervention on rare occasions of a big constitutional debate or a great legal issue.

He has left another interesting legacy for his successors, the legacy of prophecy, and curiously this has so far been kept up. He, in the famous 1924 debate demanding a Round Table Conference said: 'We want Swaraj and we will fight and will not rest till we have attained it.' And so he lived true to his work. He was succeeded by Pandit Malaviya who speaking on the Tariff Bill which gave Lancashire preference said, 'The country will not have it; the country will be set on fire by this legislation'. And the country was set on fire. Mr. Jayakar who came on next declared: 'Sir, who knows my words to you may be the last I am uttering. You will see on these benches not me but my successors less accommodating.' He was referring, of course, to a future Assembly, and he too was true for he never returned. I have mentioned these to show with what great responsibility the successive Leaders of Opposition have spoken and maintained the dignity of their unofficial office.

In debate I do not remember any one ever having the better of Pandit Motilal. Only once did he fumble, when he was speaking with all seriousness on the constitutional question: 'Sir, we are thinking of nothing but Swaraj, Swaraj in the morning, Swaraj at noon, Swaraj in the evening, Swaraj at all times.'

Mr. Kabiruddin Ahmed interjected "Then when do you spin?" This was a bombshell — a mighty fall from a serious debate to a light touch. But the Pandit joined with the rest in a hearty laugh. That interjection, I remember, contributed, as nothing else, to lift clouds hanging over a serious debate and proved how great a part these light touches may play in the affairs of serious deliberative bodies.

I can multiply instances — in fact I feel tempted to — but this is not an appropriate occasion to go into these lengths, but I hope I have been able to convey the impression left by that great personality on the politics of the Assembly. And I would end by saying that if he made the Assembly a mirror of public opinion of his days, the Assembly gave him a platform which at once served as a stage for world fame which till then had not come to him. May the Assembly carry the great traditions left behind by so gifted a leader of men as Pandit Motilal Nehru.

A TRUE ARISTOCRAT

SIR GEORGE SCHUSTER

As I look back over thirty-two years to my first days in India in 1928, one figure stands out clearly in the picture of my memory, a strong elegant figure, the figure of a man who, of all the many people that I have known, I see as a true aristocrat, and aristocrat in the best sense of the word. It is the figure of Pandit Motilal Nehru.

I am proud to think that I can write of him as a friend. I am proud to remember that, in those difficult days of controversy and sometimes bitter feelings between Indian political leaders and British members of the Government of India, Motilal Nehru was always ready to come as a guest to our house.

He was always kind to me when, feeling very young and strange, I came out to take up the heavy responsibilities of Finance Member in the Government of India. I look back to my first Budget speech in the Indian Assembly which I ended, rather ambitiously, by quoting words from the Oath of Hippocrats as showing the spirit in which I intended to do my duties. I sincerely meant what I said, but critical members of a political opposition might well have treated it as high-flown hypocrisy. I have a vivid memory of my happiness when Motilal Nehru came across the floor of the Assembly to me afterwards and said: "I liked your last words."

My wife and I delighted to entertain him, and he always talked freely to her. It is difficult after all these years to recall particular sayings or incidents; but there is one which we have always remembered. At that time, when the revision of the Indian Constitution was to be undertaken and the Simon Commission was first coming out to India, the Nehru-Sapru report had just appeared, the basic idea of which was the immediate grant of full Dominion Status to India.

At one of our evening parties, my wife asked Motilal Nehru,

“What would you do if your proposals were accepted tomorrow?”

He replied, “I would go down on my knees and ask every Englishman in the Civil Service to stay on and work for an Indian Government.”

As I look back over the past years, I think of all the suffering and tragedy that might have been avoided if an immediate response had been made to the friendly, sympathetic understanding, the moderation, and the wise statesmanship of Motilal Nehru.

There is something more to say. It is indeed impressive to think of the evils which might have been avoided; but it is also right to appreciate all those things for which today, in spite of past mistakes and past human failings, we must be thankful. And that brings me to the last thing to be said of Motilal Nehru; to the last and perhaps the greatest of his gifts to India and the world — the family which he created and brought up, above all, of course, his son, Jawaharlal. This is not the place to write an appreciation of that son whose statesmanlike leadership has brought India to the position of a great Power in the world, standing for human liberty and maintaining friendship with Britain. I refer to him now because, as I have been writing this message and searching my memory for things said by Motilal Nehru, one thing stands out above all — the pride with which he used to speak of “the boy”. That pride has certainly been justified by the world figure which “the boy” has now become.

“THE INDEPENDENT”

The Story of a Famous Newspaper

M. CHALAPATHI RAU

“The Independent” was the most notable instance of infantile mortality in Indian journalism. Other newspapers have lived for shorter periods after more hectic careers. But no other newspaper has started under grander auspices, has had more inspiring associations, and has come to such an unaccountable end. It is a battle story more than a fairy story, for though many fairies, all of them good, presided over the birth of the newspaper, it led an adventurous life, it had to struggle from day to day, and its course within a few weeks after its birth was to become uncertain. Motilal Nehru started it, the foremost leaders of the day blessed it and wrote for it, Benjamin Guy Horniman came from Bombay to assist at its starting, Syud Hossain, acknowledged to be scholarly and able, was its first editor. It lived for three adventurous years, it had several editors and managers in that period, it went through many changes in content and style, and it had moments of brilliance.

MOTILAL’S MESSAGE

In his message to the first issue, Motilal Nehru said with characteristic vigour and distinction of style: Two ideals rule the world. Two realities strive for mastery. The ideal and reality of Spartacus, the reality and ideal of Epictetus. The one breaks his chains, the other bares his soul.

“The Independent” has come into existence to lay bare the soul of a nation, of a people ripening into nationhood, of communities merging into a people, of individuals growing into a community. How shall it approach its noble work? or better still how not?

Not along the facile line of opportunism, the fatal line of least resistance which stifles the soul and perverts the mind. Not by methods of cabal, camera and camarilla which

bring no lasting good and help only to distort the outlook. But by bringing the fierce light of day to play on dark spots wherever they exist. By giving expression to the plain impressions of the plain mind in plain language. By striving to press home the eternal truth that while, on the one hand, the natural rights of mankind cannot be withheld to be doled out in little bits with a consciousness of high-minded generosity and a benignly benevolent purpose, those rights cannot, on the other hand, thrive in an atmosphere of religious cleavage and racial antagonism.

Thus alone can "The Independent" fulfil its mission and join President Wilson in saying: "The select class of mankind are no longer the governors of mankind. The fortunes of mankind are now in the hands of the plain people of the whole world."

It is one of the most notable messages ever given to Indian journalism, a message which shows wide comprehension and mastery of phrase. There were other messages, from Rabindranath Tagore, Mrs. Besant, Sarojini Naidu, Hasan Imam, Vijiara-ghavachariar, Fazli Hasan, and later, messages were to come from C.R. Das, Malaviya, Fazlul Huq, and Dr. M.A. Ansari, "Chairman of the Moslem League."

FIRST ISSUE — DISPLAY, CONTENTS

The first issue of "The Independent", "the only English morning daily newspaper in Upper India", appeared on Wednesday, February 5, 1919. Why Wednesday, and why February 5? Was it by sheer necessity or was it somebody's whim? It is not known. It contained sixteen four-column pages of half the present standard size and was priced one anna. It subscribed to Reuter and the Associated Press, the two news agencies then available, and must have had its correspondents, though their messages were not many. Foreign news, in the manner of the day, was put under "Reuter's telegrams" and in several cases, startlingly enough, probably through sub-editors' misdemeanour or mischief, readers were told that while the message was dated London, February 3, for instance, it was "received at 8.25 a.m." or some other time some other day. The two-column front-page lead was "Industrial Crisis in England". The Peace Conference was featured. "Bombay Labour Trouble" received stress. Typographical confusion, which is unavoidable for the first issues of any paper, prevailed mercilessly. Commercial news was tucked away un-

obstrusively, though sparsely, amidst the general news. But the headlines were neat, the proof-reading fairly impressive, if not impeccable, and the anonymous sub-editing must have been directed by skilled hands.

It was a political standard, as most nationalist newspapers then were, and in the third page, Allahabad's protest against the Black Bills was most impressively displayed. It was a stenographic record, with the cheers punctiliously noted, according to the practice of the day. Two pages were devoted to "messages", a common ritual even today. A special article on "Indian and Self-Determination" by Dr. Subramaniam, whoever it was, had the full stop both after the subject and the by-line, punctuation which has gone out of practice. Bepin Chandra Pal, writing on "The Political Situation", was similarly honoured. Among the four pages of advertisements were many insertions of a cultural kind. "The National Academy of Music" was advertised, foreword, preamble and all. "The King-Emperor's Activities in War Time", a record in British pictorial journalism, was said to be "two rupees' worth for one rupee". Dictionaries and reference works occupied a good amount of space. "Asthma — an Unfailing Cure", "Blood Poison — How to Cure It", toilet requisites, high class stationery, typewriters, musical instruments, investments were among the things advertised. It is difficult to guess from all these the economic and cultural life of the day.

In "What We Stand For", the editor expounded the policy of the paper. Its moderation and loyalty to the British Crown might seem astounding now, but it was still the first phase of the Gandhian era of nationalism, and soon the newspaper was to go step by step to exhibitions of strong feeling and extremism. On February 5, 1919, this was the keynote: "Faithfully representing the all but universal sentiment of the India people, "The Independent" will be loyal to the British Crown: in other words, and equally faithfully interpreting the overwhelming sense of the nation, we will be all for maintaining the British connection and working out the destiny of India within the scheme of the British Commonwealth, in accordance with those principles of liberty and decency which are the very soul of British traditions and British institutions." There was a light divagation on the bureaucrat, a quotation from Bentham, some political philosophy, and then the editorial concluded:

To sum up, what we stand for is Home Rule for India: that the Indian, as a citizen of the British Commonwealth,

shall come into his own; that, above all, the century-old tradition of India's racial subordination, economic serfdom and commercial exploitation shall come to an end in practice as it has already been officially abandoned in theory.

STYLE AND SUBSTANCE

In style and subject-matter, the first leading article was the forerunner of many such leading articles for many months. The writing was rhetorical but dignified. No artifice was discarded but it was always employed with restraint. Polemics were mixed with political philosophy. There was never loss of temper and even the most vigorous criticism did not amount to abuse. It was among the best writing of the day, though it never rose to passion and lacked the compelling power of conviction. It was notable composition. The newspaper started in great style, though it cannot be said that it perished in style.

On February 7, 1919, two days after the start of the publication of "The Independent", there was a dinner in honour of its birth at Anand Bhawan. Proposing "the toast of the evening", Motilal Nehru said that the policy of the paper was "to wage war against autocracy" and "to think aloud for India" — "I will ask you gentlemen, to rise and drink to 'The Independent' (cheers)", and coupled with it the names of Mr. Horniman and Mr. Syud Hossain. "The Independent" report says that "the scene which followed was one of great enthusiasm; for the guests jolly rose to their feet and sang 'For They Are Good Fellows'. It is not known how the toast was drunk or how the guests "jolly" rose to their feet. Mr. Horniman replied to the toast to many cheers. Mr. Raza Ali then proposed the toast of the staff and Mr. C.S. Ranga Iyer responded on behalf of "the editorial staff" and Mr. Holsinger on behalf of the managerial department. Mr. Sri Prakasa also spoke. Then Mr. Hossain proposed the toast of the Nationalist Journals Ltd., referring to Motilal Nehru, the chairman, "who had been visiting and active in 'The Independent' office practically at work every hour in the night and day during the last few days", and coupling with Motilal Nehru's name the name of Jawaharlal Nehru, one of the directors of the company "who worked devotedly for the production of the first number and later in the editorial office being in touch with the whole office. If Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru represented even remotely the enthusiasm and interest of the other directors in this nationalist concern, they have good reason to anticipate a really successful and fruitful future for

this national enterprise". The report says that "Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru suitably responded."

MANY EDITORS, MANY MANAGERS

There were to be many editors, many managers, and often the editors and managers got mixed. The number of pages was to vary, from eight to ten, the price rose to one anna and six pice, and then fell, for the greater part of the life of the paper, to six pice. The contents of the newspaper were even more varied, reflecting the temper of the times and the new methods of Indian journalism. There was either absence of direction or different and conflicting approaches. With single-column headlines on page one, there were banner headlines on other pages, with full-stops after many of the headlines. But the appearance of the newspaper must have depended not only on political but on commercial values. With the emergence of classified advertisements, there was both income and amusement. Among the "wanted" were shorthand typists, private tutors, agents for a Hindi monthly; "for sale" were available a digest of revenue case law, a harmonium, a handbook of legal maxims, a phaeton. The news content rose and fell in interest. The proceedings of the Imperial Legislative Council were reported in detail. The efforts of the Moderates to "rally" were ridiculed from day to day. The mofussil reports were slow in gathering volume and variety; under "Agra Notes", C.I.D. activities were described at length. In stages, modern maladies like meteorological observations, legal intelligence, "In Lighter Vein", and sports news, consisting almost exclusively of Bombay Races and Meerut Races, appeared. "Letters to the Editor" were more promiscuous than orderly. There were no news photos of any kind. M.K. Gandhi popped up occasionally, but Horniman was scoring heavily.

ISSUES "EXTRAORDINARY"

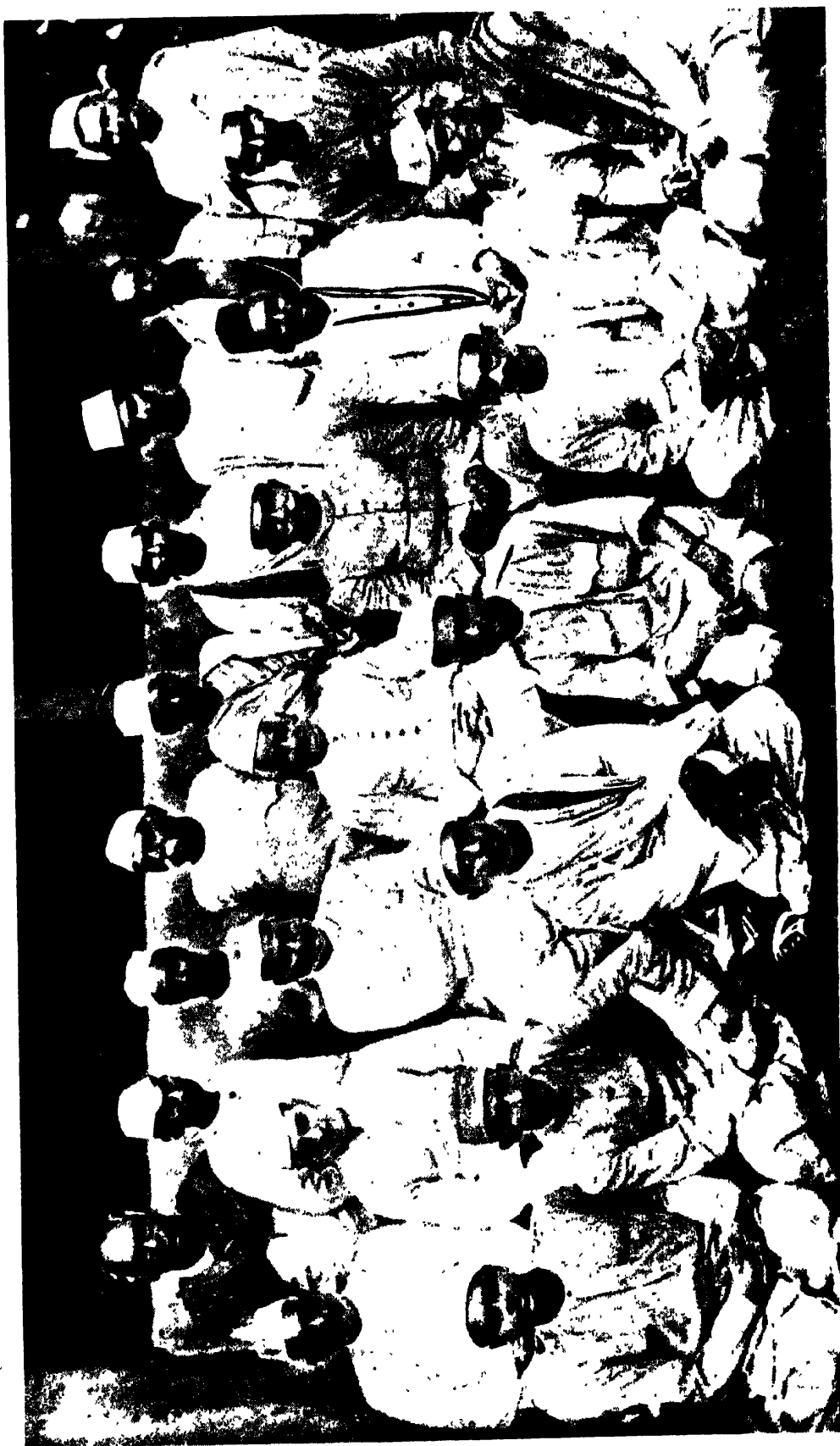
There were the dull early days, when the most readable part of the newspaper consisted of the elegantly composed leading articles and the vehemently argued special articles. The rest consisted of reports of speeches. But soon satyagraha over the Black Bills filled the air, the newspaper had to produce issues "extraordinary", and M.K. Gandhi was appearing as Mahatma Gandhi. The newsprint deteriorated by the middle of March 1919, acquiring the colour of battle dust. The philosophy of patriotism swamped news items and sub-editors must have been forgetting sub-editing though there were new features like "Plays and Pic-



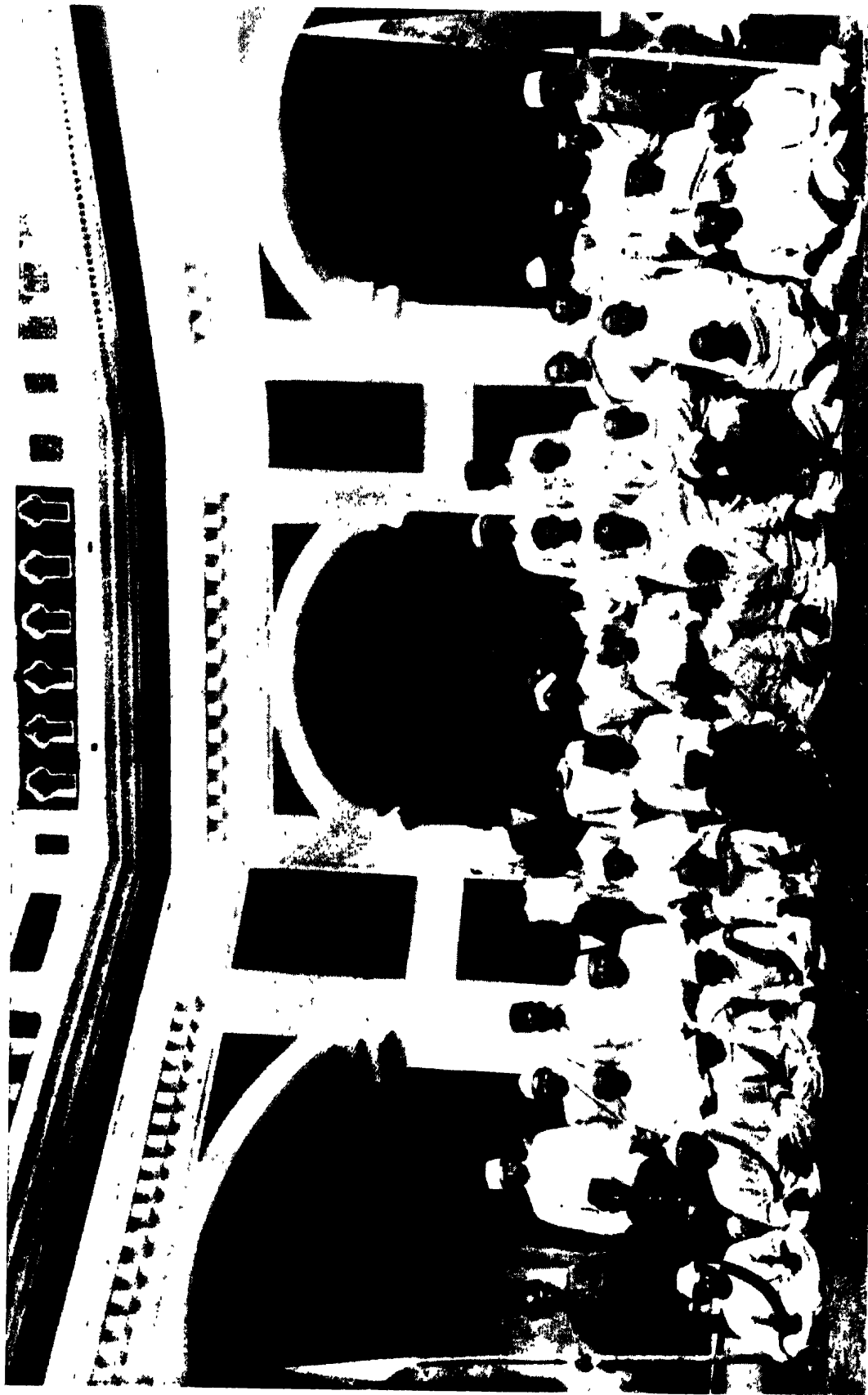
Delegates to the Amritsar Session of the Congress in 1919. (From third in left to right) Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Motilal Nehru, Swami Shradddhanand, Annie Besant and Madan Mohan Malaviya. Jawaharlal Nehru squats at the extreme left



Motilal Nehru with prominent witnesses and members of the Civil Disobedience Committee,
1922 (Camp Madras). V.J. Patel, Kasturi Range Iyenger and Sri Niwas Iyenger are also seen



Motilal Nehru with Jawaharlal Nehru, Jamnalal Bajaj, M.A. Ansari, Rajendra Prasad and other
Congress volunteers



Motilal Nehru, during one of his visits to Madras, with M.A. Ansari, Vithalbhai Patel, Rajagopalachari and other Congress volunteers

tures" and "Ladies' Sphere", there were items about army horses, and always the "Lighter Vein". Thoreau on Civil Disobedience was reproduced in full, but cricket reform and Morley's eightieth birthday were not forgotten. In April, on Satyagraha Day, an "extraordinary" issue of "The Independent" appeared with black border, inaugurating the era of resistance to repression. Malaviya and others resigned from the Imperial Legislative Council, Motilal Nehru's militancy was becoming more pronounced, and there were stirring speeches everywhere. "I am not a moderate", announced even Mrs. Besant too poignantly. But "The Independent" was also fighting. Its printing was getting bad, and there was some desperation in a fullpage advertisement appealing to advertisers to rally round the paper.

"The Independent" was coming of age, though too soon. On April 20, it announced in big, bold type on page one: "The Independent has the largest circulation of any daily paper in Northern India — the circulation exceeding the combined circulation of The Pioneer, The Leader, The Indian Daily Telegraph", combative, competitive spirit, and the slogan about "the largest circulation" appeared daily under the name plate.

DAYS OF HIGH TENSION

Tension was mounting. After the Delhi Tragedy, repression in the Punjab led to greater heart-shaking tragedies. There were daily trials and convictions, and "a fine photo of Mr. M.K. Gandhi" for one rupee was being advertised. Irony was creeping into the usually staid headlines of "The Independent" — "The Gentle Press Act." — and soon it gave way to indignation. The progress of the Peace Treaty was not ignored, and while "Science Jottings" and "Commercial Notes" were new features, the tension was reflected in the introduction of "Stop Press" and the intrusion of articles on page one. History was made relentlessly. Martial Law, Sankaran Nair's resignation, the Hunter Committee, the Rowlatt Bills, Jallianwala Bagh, the Amritsar Congress — these were not only headlines but exciting events.

"The Independent's" pages reflected this history, and as fountain pens intruded into the advertisement columns and soon there were no more claims about circulation, C.S. Ranga Iyer took Syud Hossain's place in the imprint line. There was a farewell editorial entitled "Editorial" on December 18 by Syud Hossain, who was joining the Khilafat delegation to England. On December 19, Ranga Iyer wrote his first editorial and it

was on "Mr. Syud Hossain". Apparently, it was not wrong in those days for editors even of the same newspaper to write about each other.

On January 16, 1920, it was announced that Bepin Chandra Pal would be editor-in-chief, which meant that Ranga Iyer was still editor, and that back numbers would be available at six annas a copy. There were more features, "Our London Letter," "Our Calcutta Letter", the U.P. Gazette, court notices, new types of headlines, and advertisements of Royal Yakuti, Mesmerism, hypnotism, and astrologers, sometimes saying "Beware of new astrologers," Boycotts, hartals, non-cooperation were the news day after day and from November, 1920, "the Editor Discourses", with a more personal approach, took the place of the more impersonal "Topics". The pages became ruddy and more colourful, there was more disorder, there were more mistakes. A nation in agony was reflected in the agony and anger of the newspaper.

DECLINE AND CLOSURE

Soon Mahatma Gandhi filled the first page with his comments on "Topics of the Day" and the imprint line became indecipherable. The news was all about soldiers of satyagraha, heroes, martyrs, though matrimonial advertisements started appearing. In July, G.A. Sundaram displaced Ranga Iyer in the imprint line. On August 2, 1921, there was a strange "acknowledgement". "We acknowledge with thanks the receipt of a tube of rubber solution for pitching motor car and cycle tubes from the Indian Rubber Workers, 40 Shambunath Pandit St., Bhawanipore, Calcutta. It is said to be a purely Indian manufacture and as such deserved encouragement. We commend it to our readers. The price is not mentioned". The spirit of swadeshi and unrelenting truthfulness! In september, 1921, while toilet soap advertisements started appearing, "Srijut" George Joseph appeared in the imprint line. On October 1, there was a birthday editorial tribute to Gandhi, anticipating the birthday by a day. On November 15, there was an editorial without heading. On December 3, the editor "discoursing" announced the arrest of Joseph and from December 9, Mahadeo H. Desai emerged in the imprint line. There were unprecedented hartals everywhere, including Allahabad, there were searches, arrests. The offensive against the Congress was in full swing and "The Independent", battling bravely, was going to pieces. It closed early in 1923.

It is useless to discuss at this day the economic and political causes of the decline and death of the newspaper, started with such great hopes. The leaders were too busy with national affairs to be able to salvage it. For nearly twenty years, there was to be no other newspaper of its kind. Jawaharlal Nehru, in his autobiography, refers to the incompetence with which it was run, the troubles it faced, its financial difficulties, and the squabbles among the members of the managerial and editorial staffs. It had bright patches. There were too many editors, and while each editor had his own distinctive style, nobody had a policy for a newspaper as different from a newspaper. Editors and managers were too deeply and directly involved in the struggle, and as they disappeared one by one and Motilal Nehru and other directors were imprisoned, the spirit went out of it, and only the memory survives. It is the memory of a gallant struggle, of good writing, and of political journalism at its best and, commercially, worst.

A GREAT LAWYER*

B.R. NANDA

Allahabad may seem a sleepy little town today, but in the last decade of the nineteenth century, to a young lawyer anxious to make a place for himself in the world, it must have seemed a land of opportunity. It was the capital of the North Western Provinces, as the United Provinces were then called. It was the seat of the university and the High Court, and the centre of the English language press which moulded the opinion of Europeans and educated Indians in northern India.

The legal profession, thanks to the purely literary qualifications required for it, was becoming overcrowded even in the eighteen-eighties. 'Briefless barrister' was a comic phrase to some, but a tragic reality to those whom it was intended to ridicule. The struggle for survival at the Bar was keen: room at the top there always was, but the top was not easily reached, nor did it accommodate more than a few. Dr. John Matthai, the well-known economist and educationist, is said to have received a bunch of bananas as the fee for his first brief in the Madras High Court. Initial disappointment and a sense of failure were the lot even of those who later achieved outstanding success. For many a weary year, the new entrant to the legal profession found time hang heavy on his hands. The aimless browsing on newspapers and magazines in the Bar Library, the gossip from the courts, the anecdotes relayed at secondhand from the more fortunate seniors, scarcely filled the young lawyer's frustrating day. He had to be content with such petty briefs as came his way, until he resigned himself to failure, or found himself, by an unexpected turn of fortune's wheel, at the top of the profession. Such was the lot of C.R. Das, a Bengali lawyer, nine years younger than Motilal, whom the trial of Aurobindo Ghose brought

* B.R. Nanda, *The Nehrus: Motilal and Jawaharlal*, Allen and Unwin, London, 1962.

into the limelight after fifteen years' struggle against poverty and oblivion. Such too was the lot of a Gujarati youth, M.K. Gandhi, eight years younger than Motilal, who was called to the bar in England, read books on physiognomy and sought advice from experienced lawyers on the 'art' of practising law; and when at last, after unconscionable waiting, a brief came his way, he broke down in a Bombay court while cross-examining the first witness, refunded the client's fee and retired to the small town of Rajkot to make a modest living by drafting petitions until the displeasure of a British officer drove him to seek his fortune in South Africa. The diffident, tongue-tied, self-conscious Gandhi, scanning the morality as well as the legality of his briefs, was poles apart from Motilal, who was the epitome of self-confidence, quick to seize on a point of fact or law and to stretch it to the utmost in his client's favour.

Motilal received only five rupees for his first brief, but he was fortunate in not having a long uphill struggle: his success was as rapid as it was spectacular. In his early thirties, he was making nearly Rs. 2,000 a month, a considerable sum for an up-country lawyer at that time; in his early forties his income had reached five figures. He was one of the four brilliant *vakils* whom Chief Justice Sir John Edge admitted to the roll of advocates of the Allahabad High Court in 1896, the others being Pandit (later Sir) Sunderlal, Munshi Ram Prasad and Mr. Jogendranath Choudhuri. In August, 1909, he received permission to appear and plead at the bar of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in Great Britain.

Success came easily to Motilal because he possessed a natural shrewdness, sound common sense and the gift of persuasive advocacy. K.N. Katju, one of his younger contemporaries, thus explains the secret of his eminence at the Bar: 'Pandit Motilal was handsome. He dressed fastidiously. He was by no means eloquent, but keen in debate and incisive in argument. He radiated cheerfulness and good humour... While Pandit Motilal was in the court and on his legs, the atmosphere seemed surcharged with sunshine.' He also had the saving grace of humour. Once in the course of his address to the jury he said he did not want to confuse it. 'Never mind the jury,' cut in the judge, 'the jury can look after itself.' 'My Lord,' Motilal replied, 'that may be so, but I want it to look after my client.'

But all his gifts would not have brought him to the top without another quality of which he had given little promise in his youth — industry. There is no short cut to success in

the legal profession. Each day brings new battles of wits, new briefs with new intricacies of law, fresh masses of evidence to be sifted, marshalled and digested. This means working hard late at night or first thing in the morning, as the days are taken up with interviews with clients and appearances in court.

II

Motilal was a civil lawyer. Most of his important cases were about disputed succession to property belonging to big zamindars and talukdars. The stakes were high and so were the fees. The rival claimants engaged the foremost lawyers in the land. The intricacies of the Hindu law of inheritance were further complicated by the thick folds of insinuation and intrigue in which such disputes were often shrouded. The income from an estate was larger enough to make it worthwhile for the party in possession to prolong the course of litigation, and for the rival party to fight for it to the bitter end. One of these cases which concerned the Lakhna estate, came to Motilal in 1894 and remained with him for more than thirty years — long after he had given up active practice. A brief history of this case, which was one of the most important and remunerative Motilal handled, is not only interesting in itself but a good example of the problems with which he had to wrestle in the course of his legal practice.

A *jagir* (estate) was granted to Raja Jaswant Singh, a landlord of Etawah district, for his services to the British Government during the Mutiny. Raja Jaswant Singh married three times. He had a son, Balwant Singh, by his first wife and a daughter, Beti Mahalakshmibai, by his third wife, Rani Kishori. Unfortunately, Balwant Singh fell into evil ways, was convicted of murder and sentenced to thirteen years' imprisonment. Raja Jaswant Singh thereupon disinherited his son and executed 'a solemn deed of gift' of his property in favour of Rani Kishori, with the stipulation that if a son were born to Balwant Singh, the property would revert to him when he came of age.

In 1879 on the death of her husband, Rani Kishori came into possession of the *jagir*, which she managed with uncommon ability and efficiency. But four years later her stepson, on release from jail, claimed the property on the plea that he had been wrongfully deprived of it. Since the *jagir* had been acquired and not inherited by his father, the courts held that the disinheritance of Balwant Singh was valid under Hindu law. Events now took a dramatic turn. Balwant Singh, who was approaching

his fiftieth birthday and had a wife living, married a young woman named Dunnaju. In 1894 it was announced that Dunnaju had given birth to a son who was named Narsingh Rao. To Rani Kishori this seemed part of a plot to do her out of her *jagir*. She consulted Motilal, then a rising lawyer in Allahabad. Motilal's opinion, which was later confirmed by Sir Charles Paul, an eminent Calcutta lawyer, was that Raja Jaswant Singh's gift of property in favour of a grandson unborn on the date of the execution of the deed, was bad in law.

In 1916 things came to a head when Narsingh Rao, having attained his majority, filed a suit as Balwant Singh's son and heir for the restitution of the property in the terms of his grandfather's will. He engaged Tej Bahadur Sapru, a leading lawyer of Allahabad, as his counsel. Rani Kishori engaged Motilal. Motilal was inclined to contest the suit on the legal issue, but his client insisted that legitimacy of Narsingh Rao should be disputed. On this point Narsingh Rao produced an impressive array of witnesses — relatives, midwives and neighbours. The evidence of Dunnaju, who was in *purdah*, was taken at her residence by the British judge. At the end of the cross-examination — which Dunnaju had stood remarkably well — Motilal casually asked her if she would submit to a medical examination. 'Not once,' she retorted, 'but twenty times, and not by one lady-doctor but by a hundred lady-doctors, provided Rani Kishori does not open the gold-bags in her treasury.' Motilal consulted a few eminent gynaecologists to ascertain if such an examination, twenty-two years after the event, could establish the fact of maternity. The advice he received was by no means unanimous, but he decided to apply for Dunnaju to be medically examined. Her counsel stoutly contested the application, describing it as a *mala fide* and protesting that all the gynaecologists in the country had been consulted on behalf of the other party, that it was no longer possible to obtain impartial advice, that the examination ('the physical cross-examination,') was harmful, uncalled for, useless; that it was an intolerable humiliation for a high-born Brahmin widow. All these arguments served only to rouse the judge's suspicions. Narsingh Rao's suit was dismissed in 1918 and the High Court rejected his appeal. Motilal's client had won the first round, but the litigation was to last for another ten years, with new developments, which will be related later.

It was this case which elicited from Chief Justice Sir Grimwood Mears and memorable compliment that 'no lawyer

in the world could have done that case better than Pandit Motilal had done it'. Sir Grimwood formed the highest judgment of Motilal's talents. 'When I came to Allahabad,' he recalled, 'and was beginning to learn the names and positions of the various members of the Bar, I was struck with the respect and pride with which all his colleagues at the Bar spoke of Pandit Motilal Nehru. When I had the pleasure of meeting him, I understood the reasons for the affection with which he was regarded. . . He had a profusion of gifts; knowledge came easily to him, and as an advocate he had the art of presenting his case in its most attractive form. Every fact fell into its proper place in the narration of the story and was emphasised in just the right degree. He had an exquisite public speaking voice and a charm of manner which made it a pleasure to listen to him. . . With his wide range of reading and the pleasure that he had taken in travel he was a very delightful companion, and wherever he sat at a table that was the head of the table and there was the centre of interest.'¹

III

What distinguished Motilal was not that he earned enormous sums of money: there were other lawyers in Allahabad — Sir Sunderlal for example — who did not earn less, and there were quite a few in Bombay and Calcutta who earned more. But only of Motilal could it perhaps be said that expenditure rose *pari passu* with income. He spent generously on the education of his children and of his nephews, who had become his responsibility after the death of his beloved brother Nand Lal in 1887. He moved from the densely populated city of Allahabad to a bungalow — 9, Elgin Road, in the spacious and exclusive 'Civil Lines' where European and Eurasian families lived in solitary splendour. It was a courageous decision. It signified a desire on his part to live in healthier surroundings with greater quiet and privacy than were possible in the heart of the town. It was also a sign of the transformation which was taking place in his life: the rise in the standard of living was accompanied by increasing westernization. Only a few hundred yards separated the 'Civil Lines' from the city, but mentally and socially the two were poles apart: one could almost say, as E.M. Forster said of Chandrapore, that all they had in common was 'the overarching sky'.

¹ *Leader*, February 8, 1931.

In 1900 Motilal purchased a house — 1, Church Road — from Kanwar Parmanand of Moradabad. It was situated near Bhardwaj Ashram at a spot hallowed by association with episodes in the *Ramayana*. Motilal was struck less by the sanctity of the location than by the size and the possibilities of the estate, which included a large garden and a swimming pool. The price — Rs. 19,000 — may seem ridiculously low, but the deal was made sixty years ago, and the house was in a dilapidated condition and required extensive renovation and reconstruction. Motilal opened his purse-strings to make his new home — which he named 'Anand Bhawan' (Abode of Happiness) — as comfortable as possible.

Today, Anand Bhawan (renamed 'Swaraj Bhawan') with its huge bare rooms, long verandahs, empty terraces and legend-haunted silence, is a different place from fifty years ago when it was filled with Motilal's own family, his nephews, their wives and children and numerous guests and above all with his own resonant voice. Having a lively curiosity and zest for living, he made a point of ordering the latest gadgets and improvements. Anand Bhawan was the first house in Allahabad to have a swimming pool; it was also the first to have electricity and water laid on. Motilal's library included quite a few 'manuals of applied science', which were in vogue in America and Europe at the turn of the century. One of these was *Practical Bellfitting* and another *A Practical Treatise upon the Fitting of Hot-Water Apparatus*. Apparently before ordering installations for his house, Motilal took care to find out how they worked. The craze for the 'latest and the best' was an essential part of his make-up in those days. During his visits to Europe in 1899, 1900, 1905 and 1909 he spent much time and money in buying furnishings and fittings for Anand Bhawan. When the cycle was an expensive novelty, he ordered successive models through Raja Ram Motilal Guzdar and Company, a local firm of which he was part-owner. In 1904 he imported a car, the first in Allahabad and probably in the United Provinces. Next year, during his visit to Europe, he bought a new car. In 1909 when he was again in Europe he bought two cars, a Fiat and a Lancia. He already had a number of carriages and a fair-sized stable of fine Arabian horses. There is a good photograph of Motilal in breeches with his two daughters, eleven-year-old Sarup and three-year-old Krishna, on horse-back beside him. His children learned to ride almost as soon as they learned to walk. He himself was a good rider and an excellent shot and whenever possible indulged his taste for *shikar*.

His favourite sport was wrestling: when he was too old to practise it himself he enjoyed watching a bout between his servants in a part of the garden where the ground had been specially prepared for an *akhara*: he would encourage the contestants during the match and entertain them to milk afterwards.

IV

Motilal's optimism and self-confidence had hastened his success at the Bar; his success further enhanced his self-confidence. Looking back, he could not help feeling that he had triumphed against heavy odds. A star-crossed destiny had seemed to shadow his early years: it had robbed him of his father before he was born, and then taken away his elder brother in the prime of life. Within a decade, however, the days of uncertainty and insecurity were behind him. He did not suffer from false humility; he enjoyed his success enormously and visibly and took full credit for it. He valued money, prestige and the good things of life and was glad to be able to command them.

Though he worked hard, he knew the art of relaxation. At about seven in the evening, winter and summer alike, he would entertain his friends in the house or garden, and good food, good wine, good conversation were the order of the day. Here the battles of the courtroom were fought over again — quite without malice, for it was all part of a game, the great game of making money. The moving spirit of these gatherings was always the host himself: his wit and exuberance were unfailing. By nine o'clock the party would be over and Motilal, still in high spirits, would join his family for a gay and leisurely dinner, sometimes eaten at table in the western fashion, sometimes squatting Indian style on the marble floor in the Indian dining-room, but always to the accompaniment of a happy flow of repartee and little intimate family jokes.

Those were the days, too, of the tennis and the big garden-parties, when the great, smooth lawns of Anand Bhawan were gay with the many coloured saris of the guests and the brightness of winter flowers; when the teacups tinkled, the guests laughed and chattered, the band played; and above the cheerful sounds of the elite of Allahabad enjoying themselves could be heard the rich laughter of the host enjoying himself most of all.

AN ANECDOTE

RT. HON. LORD PETHICK LAWRENCE

Pandit Motilal Nehru paid many visits to England in the course of his life either as a lawyer conducting a case before the Privy Council or for other reasons. I remember well one of these occasions when he did me the honour of accepting an invitation I gave him to dine with me in a room in the House of Commons. Prior to the dinner Pandit Motilal had been sitting in the gallery of the House listening to a debate on the text of the Prayer Book of the English Church.

I had some five or six other guests, most of them M.Ps., at dinner that night in addition to the Pandit himself; and after the meal was over several of them rose and made informal speeches in regard to the British regime in India. I then invited Pandit to say a few words. For some little time he was disinclined to do so but after a while when several of those present had expressed their respect for the struggle of India for self-government and their admiration for himself, he consented to do so, and this is the substance of what he said:

"I have all my life failed to understand how it is that a great country like England with its deeprooted liberal traditions and its well known love and advocacy for freedom could behave to my country and our people in the way that it has done and still does. But since I have today sat in the gallery of your House of Commons and listened to the debate on your Prayer Book and appreciated that you were subjecting the fundamental tenets of your Christian religion to a vote in your popularly-elected assembly, I realise that a country that could do that could do anything".

That speech made, I am sure, a lasting impression on all my other guests. It certainly did so on me. It marked at once his admiration for what he knew of British history and justice, his sincere repugnance for much of what he saw happening under British rule in India, and of his profound acceptance of the unaccountable illogicality, as it seemed to him, of the working of the British mind.

WIT AND WISDOM OF PANDITJI

DR. S.C. DIWAKER*

“He was full of wit and humour; and had the rare capacity of putting aside all the sorrows and worries of life”. These remarks of Late Sri Prakasa about Motilalji Nehru are based on very many incidents and instances. He had wonderful ways to face odd situations. One of his colleagues in those days, Sri M.R. Jayakar has written:

“He never lost his equipoise, never made a mistake of judgement. Cold, calculating, precise, unimpulsive with a thorough knowledge of men and capacity to awe them into submission, he made an admirable leader. He had an unrivalled talent for suffering fools gladly. He also knew how to check sternly their outburst”.

His courage to stand against popular prejudice was legendary in his own day. Of the taboos prevalent among Kashmiri Brahmins none was perhaps stronger than that relating to overseas travel. Motilal, who visited Europe in 1899 on his return to India refused to perform what was called the *prayashchit* ceremony. On the contrary, giving a big jolt to caste system he told his out-raged opponents on December 22, 1899 — “I know what your biradari (caste) is. And if necessary I will ruthlessly and mercilessly lay bare the latterd fabric of its existence”.

In the matter of religion also he had his rational approach. He never liked the orthodox ways of living and sticking fast to outward activities in the name of religion. And as such he took religion humorously, and never seriously. Once in a crowded meeting, that was held in Lahore in connection with the electioning campaign of 1926 while answering an inconvenient question Motilalji gave a considerable shock to the religious suscepti-

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bilities of a section of his audience by declaring thus "Let alone the Vedas, I do not believe in the Divine Revelation of any scripture, whatsoever of course, as codes of moral guidance. Almost all the religious books are quite good. But to say that God speaks to men, is something beyond my grasp". Likewise in a similar meeting and similar situation at Benaras he said: "People criticise me for not worshipping a cow. But I tell you quite frankly, whether you give me your vote or not I can't call bull my father by calling cow my mother". About religion he said:

"My religion is my country, and I am prepared to serve it honestly and truthfully with all my heart and soul through thick and thin according to my own lights, unaffected by all the religious dogmas in the world."

Once in reply to the query of a press reporter as to whether he loved Jawaharlal more or Subhas more, Motilalji remarked "This is like asking whether I love my right eye more than my left one". At this candid and curt reply the reporter got dumb-founded and could not put further questions. Many a time the tremulous waves of criticism tried to capsize the ship of his public career, but the strong oars of his self-confidence helped him to face the ordeal successfully. And "the fools who came to scoff, remained to praise". It was due to his remarkable courage, confidence and convictions that he could impose his will on his friends as well as dissidents, and usually, everyone who came in contact with him became friend.

It is a well known fact that Sri Motilalji used to lead an extremely aristocratic life before he joined the national movement. His charming body used to become all the more glamorous whenever he put on beautiful rich clothes on his body, as if gold used to emit good smell. But due to the magic influence of Gandhiji he took to austerity and simplicity. He turned a new leaf of life and put on Khadi Dhoti, Kurta and Chaddar with a Khadi cap. And yet he looked as glamorous and beautiful as in the days of aristocracy. At this, once M.R. Jayakar, leaning towards Motilalji, asked a question at a Congress Session: "After all, tell me Motilal, what is the secret of your beauty. Everything becomes Pashmina on your body". Motilalji smiled a bit and leaning towards Jayakar said — "You, rugged Maratha, can't understand all these things. For this one has to be a Kashmiree first."

Even when he was not keeping good health and had become

too weak he maintained the peace of mind. Due to the cruel working of old age his body had become anaemic and weak. But thousands of countrymen would assemble at the gates of Anand Bhawan to have the darshan of their revered leader. Motilalji could not disappoint his beloved countrymen. He would stand on the gallery of the Bhawan and utter "Oh, here I am present as if at a fancy dress competition". Thus he believed in the inherent wisdom of nature to bestow in human being's capacity to survive, and even to flourish in the surroundings in which fortune places them. He was temperamentally highly optimistic. His attitude towards aging of the body was described by himself as: "however much we may be enfeebled in body, our soul has never been and will never be killed". This strong conviction towards the undying aspect of life has been eulogised by late President Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan in these remarkable words:

"Even in old age Motilal Nehru kept the spirit of youth unlike many others who develop immunity to change. Look at Jawaharlal, who has the ripeness and wisdom of age, as well as the flexibility and openness of youth. He may have derived those qualities to some extent from Motilal."

Doctors had advised him not to exert too much and take complete rest. But he refused to relent. He had taken a pledge to serve the country till the last breath of his life. And hence he valiantly fought against death and restlessly performed his duties towards the motherland.

THREE GENERATIONS OF CONGRESS PRESIDENTS



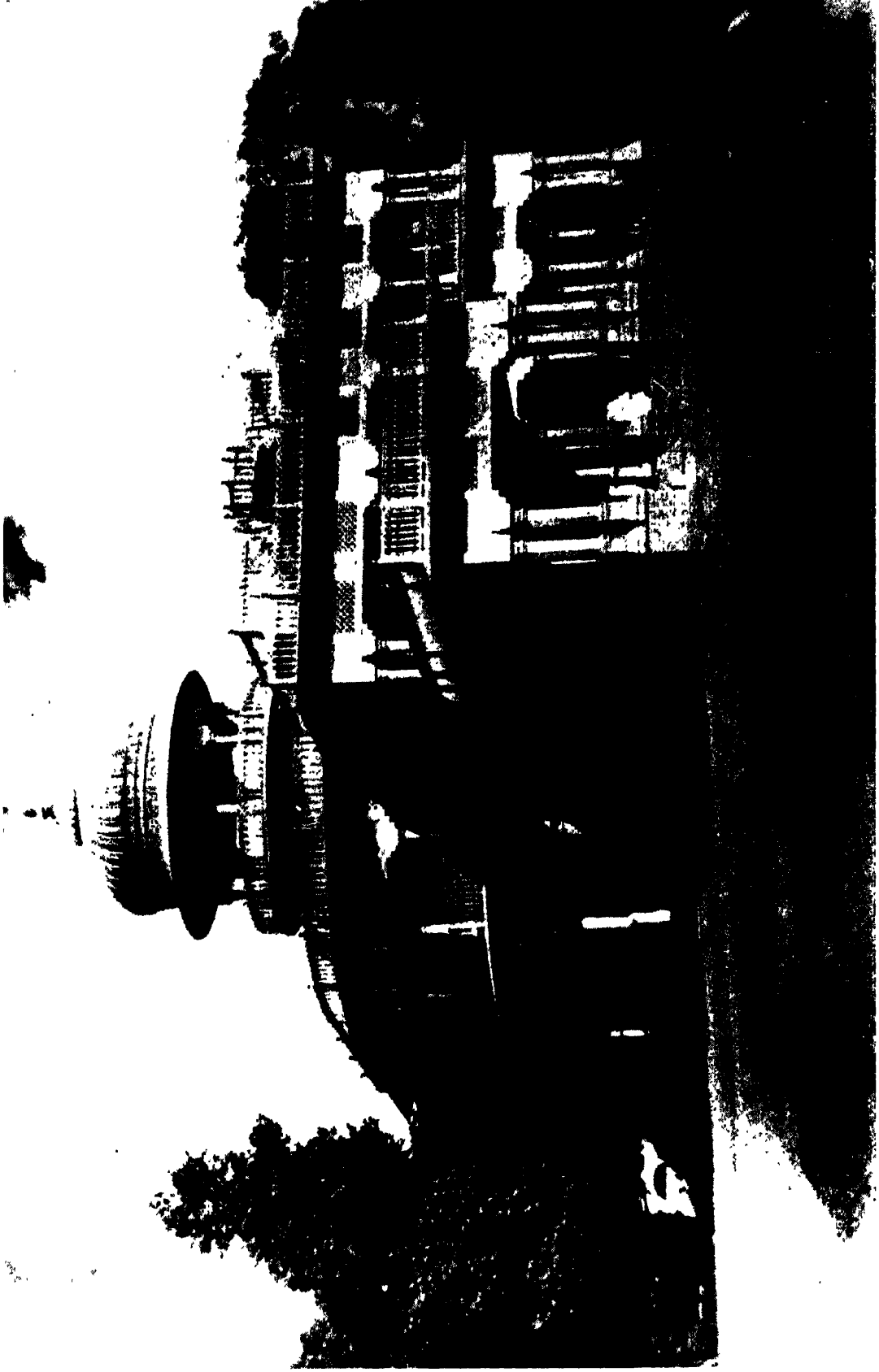
Pandit Motilal Nehru
1919 and 1928



Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru
1929, 1935, 1937, 1951, 1953 and 1954



Smt. Indira Gandhi
1960



Anand Bhawan

THE STORY OF SWARAJ BHAWAN

INDIRA GANDHI

Hidden from the public gaze by the spreading branches of magnificent old trees, stands a large and distinguished house, now gay with the many sounding noises of children. If the walls could speak what interesting stories would they tell?

Allahabad or holy Prayag was not always a sleepy little provincial town but the flourishing capital of the United Provinces. And the house had not always had so sheltered an existence. There was a time when it played a distinctive part in our struggle for freedom, when the nation's eyes were focussed on its comings and goings. The Indian people looked towards it with hope and the then Government with anger and distrust for historic decisions were taken here.

ANAND BHAWAN

As far as we know, the house belonged originally to Mr. Justice Mahmud who sold it to Raja Parmanand of Moradabad, Judge of Shahjahanpur, from whom it was bought by my grandfather, Pandit Motilal Nehru, in 1900. It was a beautiful and spacious house with a large courtyard in the middle and extensive grounds. My grandfather named the house Anand Bhawan. My father was already ten years old when the family moved into it but his sisters, now Mrs. Pandit and Mrs. Hutheesing, and I were all born there. My grandfather had to make many changes, enlarging and modernising the house to make it fit for the gracious living and lavish hospitality for which he was well known. He put in a swimming pool and much later, when my parents were married, a suite of rooms suited as it was for entertaining and accommodating a number of guests, the house was also a delight to children for it had lots of space for play and for hiding. In days of affluence or in days of hardship, the household was sternly governed by my grandfather —

his awe-inspiring temper softened by quick forgiveness and infectious laughter, his strict discipline tempered by his love for his family and his enormous zest for life.

C.F. Andrews, a great friend of my grandfather, describes his recollections of Anand Bhawan in warm and friendly words: "It was there at Anand Bhawan, that I first met Motilal Nehru more than thirty years ago. A family residence of his type is like the ancestral house of a clan in the highlands of Scotland. Everyone who is a near relative, and also the servants who grow up in it regard themselves as members of the joint family. The members of leading families met continually, especially at marriages. My own educational work soon brought me into touch with Allahabad and also with Anand Bhawan". He added that Anand Bhawan was like "one of the stately country houses in England owned by the high aristocracy".

HISTORICAL ASSOCIATIONS

The house is rich in historical memories and is associated with many campaigns in the country's fight for freedom. It was here in Anand Bhawan that the Joint Congress-League Committee met in 1916. This greatly pleased my grandfather who used to say in those days that moderate tactics were no good, and nothing effective could be done till some solution for the Hindu-Muslim question was found. The Joint Congress-League Scheme opened the way to a joint effort of the Extremist and Moderate leaders. My grandfather was prepared to go ahead even at the cost of breaking with his old colleagues of the Moderate group.

The building had intimate connections with the non-cooperation movement. Here it was that the first foundation of the non-cooperation movement was laid in 1920 by Mahatma Gandhi who was then residing there. He delivered a number of lectures on the subject in the grounds of Anand Bhawan. In the years to come many meetings of the Working Committee were held here. One of my first memories is of the verandah and terrace being littered with lovely materials — what a wealth of texture and colour. They were our foreign clothes, all being collected to be thrown into the enormous bonfire which was being lit in the city. From then on the whole family took to Khadi.

CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE MOVEMENT

During this civil disobedience movement, my father and

grandfather were arrested on the 6th of December, 1921 and sentenced to six months imprisonment. I was four years old and this was my first experience of a court of law. I sat right in the dock on my grandfather's knee! Soon after their arrest, the police started paying frequent visits to Anand Bhawan. They came to realise the fines which had been imposed on my grandfather, father and later other members of the family. My father has written: "It was the Congress policy not to pay fines. So the police came day after day and attached and carried away bits of furniture." They took also other articles such as carpets, silver, the car, etc. whose value was far in excess of the amount of the fine. This continuous process of despoilation was irritating enough but to watch it impotently was beyond the patience of a strong-willed child such as I was. I protested to the police and indicated my strong displeasure in every way I could, once nearly chopping off an officer's thumb with a bread slicing gadget.

The sudden suspension of the civil disobedience movement by Mahatma Gandhi in February, 1922 in the wake of the Chauri Chaura incident, shocked and bewildered Gandhi's closest colleagues. This led to the appointment of the Civil Disobedience Enquiry Committee to conduct a nation-wide enquiry on the state of opinion in the country and also to suggest ways and means of reviving the movement. This Committee held its final sittings in Anand Bhawan and the Committee's report, which later on paved the way to the Council entry programme, was drafted here. The Swaraj Party was thus virtually born here and it was again from here that my grandfather issued his famous manifesto of 1923. The manifesto declared that if Dominion Status were not granted immediately, the Swaraj Party would resort to a policy of "uniform, continuous and consistent obstruction with a view to make government through the Assembly and the Councils impossible."

The All-Parties Conference, appointed for the purpose of drawing up a constitution for India which would be acceptable to all parties, held its meetings in Anand Bhawan. Here was also drafted the Nehru Report which demanded the immediate grant of Dominion Status.

CENTRE OF VARIED ACTIVITIES

Anand Bhawan was not only the venue for heated discussions, important meetings and rallies, it was also the centre for many and varied activities. It was home and a training ground not only to us who were born or brought up in it but also for

many others, young and old; some came because they were far from home (one young man was from Ceylon) or simply because they found more inspiration or sympathy or understanding than in their own homes. There were frequent shootings and lathi charges and often enough government hospitals were not willing to take in the victims of such atrocities. One night several quite young boys were brought in with bullet wounds and in critical condition. My mother persuaded my grandfather to allow her to keep them in the house. So from September 1929 a part of the house was turned into a hospital. In the beginning doctors came only at dead of night and the women of the house, including myself, aged twelve, were the nurses. Later, there was a good staff and suitable equipment.

Some time in 1926, Mahatma Gandhi had a conference with my father and grandfather, which was to affect the future of the house. One of the things they discussed was a proposal for giving Anand Bhawan away to the nation. As Gandhiji himself afterwards related the story: "The elder Pandit had overheard Jawaharlal remarking that Anand Bhawan would belong to the nation when it came into his hands. So Motilal said to himself, 'why wait?'" And as a fitting prelude to the great struggle on which the nation was embarking he took the decision to make a gift of his residence, Anand Bhawan and was to remain the headquarters of the Indian National Congress until the office moved to Delhi in 1946. He built a much smaller house in the compound of the old and gave it the name of the old, Anand Bhawan. We moved into the house in 1928.

GIFT TO THE NATION

The proposal however actually took effect on the 6th April, 1930, the day on which in the grey dawn, Gandhiji celebrated our National Week by picking contraband salt on the Dandi beach, thus touching off a unique and most spectacular non-violent mass struggle.

My grandfather died before he could execute the formal deed, so it was my father who transferred the property to the Congress. The preamble to the deed, which was executed on 24th November, 1931, reads that "his father Motilalji had desired to gift the house to the Indian nation and he died before he could execute the formal deed. Pandit Jawaharlalji transferred the property to Dr. Ansari, Seth Jamnalal Bajaj, Dr. B.C. Roy and himself as Trustees to the benefit of the Indian people in

the advancement of knowledge, health, social and economic well-being and especially with the object of providing unity among all classes and creeds of the Indian people....”

In the course of the repressive measures which were being adopted by the government to suppress the national movement, they seized Swaraj Bhawan, in common with numerous other buildings all over the country. All the valuable equipment and material belonging to the Congress Hospital, which was being run there, was also seized. For a few days the hospital ceased working altogether, but then an open-air dispensary was established in the part nearby. Later this dispensary moved to a small cottage adjoining Swaraj Bhawan, and there it has been functioning ever since. Every year approximately 50,000 patients are treated.

There was some talk of our new house, Anand Bhawan, also being confiscated by the Government, but they evidently thought better of it and we were allowed to continue there.

Swaraj Bhawan remained in the possession of the Government from 1942 onwards. On the 9th August, 1942, the first day of the Quit India movement, a military unit was stationed there and the house was transformed into a sort of headquarters for conducting a campaign of suppression and repression in the city and surrounding villages. The inhabitants and servants of the new Anand Bhawan next door were constantly being challenged at the point of the bayonet.

On July 1st, 1948 the Working Committee adopted a resolution allowing Swaraj Bhawan to be used for a Children's Home, and in May 1949 the Children's National Institute took it over. Now once again Swaraj Bhawan is playing its part in the nation's life. A number of boys and girls, who would not otherwise have the chance of a normal home or education, are being trained to be good citizens of India.

GLORIOUS LANDMARKS

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS AMRITSAR—1919

*Presidential Address delivered by Pandit Motilal Nehru
at the thirty-fourth annual session of the
Indian National Congress in Amritsar
on 27th December 1919 (condensed)*

FELLOW-DELEGATES,

It is indeed an exceptional honour to be thought fit to take the helm of the great ship of the Indian National Congress in the stormy weather we are passing through. The honour you have conferred on me is deserved only by a skilled pilot, who can afford to make light of the breakers and the rocks ahead. I wish your choice had fallen on one, who had both the skill and the confidence to steer clear of all danger the noble vessel you have so generously committed to my care, when it is about to sail on a perilous voyage. But all too unworthy as I am for the great distinction you have bestowed on me. I derive solace from the fact that there is a special feature of this session, which no doubt has influenced your choice, and which perhaps widens the qualification for the chair to include even such as I. That special feature presents itself at the outset and runs through our whole programme. It arises out of the recent tragic events in the Punjab which must naturally form the keynote of our proceedings. Those events finish many a dark chapter to the history of the past twelve months, but none darker than the great tragedy enacted in this very city of Amritsar in April last. Fellow-Delegates, you have assembled here in deep mourning over the cruel murder of hundreds of your brothers and in electing your President you have assigned to him the position of chief mourner. That position I accept in all reverence and I sincerely thank you for it. The responsibility, however, remains and is considerably augmented by the great solemnity of the occasion.

THE PUNJAB

As I have already indicated, the Punjab has the right to claim the first attention of this Congress. But before I deal

with the various problems which it presents for our consideration I desire to congratulate you heartily, my fellow-countrymen and women of the Punjab, and more specially those of Amritsar, for the courageous public spirit you have shown in holding the present session of your great National Assembly in this city. You resolved in happier times to invite the Congress to your Province, little dreaming of the dark days you were destined to go through before you were to realize your expectations.

You lost no time in forming your Reception Committee and were cheerfully busying yourself with your patriotic work when a great calamity suddenly descended upon you. You have borne this affliction and at the same time have adhered to your resolve. Your spokesman at Delhi, who invited the Congress, lies in jail together with many of his colleagues. Yet you have not flinched or sought to cast aside the burden you had voluntarily undertaken. All honour to you for your devoted patriotism. All praise for your patient suffering.

India has suffered much at the hands of an alien and reactionary bureaucracy, but the Punjab has in that respect acquired a most unenviable notoriety. Competent observers have borne testimony to the spirit that has animated the Punjab administration ever since it came under British rule. Sir Henry Cotton and Mr. Bernard Houghton, both eminent members of the Indian Civil Service have told us of the retrogressive and backward condition of the province and the militarist tendencies which hold sway there. Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, in his book "The Awakening of India", says:

It is generally conceded in India that most incompetent of the Governments is that of the Punjab. It takes its stand upon two foundation rocks, "Prestige" and "Sedition", the meaning of the former being that it can do what it likes and of the latter that if any Indian questions its doings his house will be raided and he will be deported... It has no notion of statesman-like handling, no idea of political methods. The man in power simply uses his power whether it is in the form of a not too honest detective department or a not too discriminating executive or judiciary.

In order to appreciate the causes which ultimately led to the catastrophe of April last and its sequel, it is desirable to consider briefly the forces which have been at work ever since

the first pulsations of public life began to be noticed by the authorities. Before 1905 there was practically no life in the Punjab, but the stupendous blunder of Lord Curzon in effecting the partition of Bengal in the face of a nation's resentment not only convulsed the affected province but sent a thrill of excitement and discontent throughout the country, which could not fail to arouse public activities in the Punjab. The introduction of the Colonization Bill in the local Legislative Council shortly after brought trouble to the very doors of the people.

... The more excitable among the people came into conflict with the police and there were riots in Lahore and Rawalpindi in April 1907. Against the arrest and trial of the actual rioters no sensible persons can have anything to say but there was no justification for the arrest of Lala Hansraj Sawhney and some other leading public men, as was shown at their trial. Even less excusable was the deportation without trial of Lala Lajpat Rai and Ajit Singh. The policy of the Punjab Government in those days, and handed down as a legacy to succeeding Lieutenant-Governors, was to shut their eyes to their own reactionary administration and keep the Government of India and the Secretary of State in ignorance of the real causes of the disturbances by supplying them with coloured accounts and fixing responsibility for their own lapses on the poor 'agitator'. Be it said however to the credit of Lord Minto that he refused to assent to the unjust law passed by the Punjab Council. But there was no lack of other weapons of repression in the already over-stocked armoury of the Punjab Government and these continued to be freely used during the years 1907 to 1909. The methods adopted were the suppression of the press and the prosecution of individuals unacceptable to the Government. Needless to say the young sapling could not weather the continuous storm it was subjected to and there was little manifestation of public life in the Punjab during the years 1910 to 1913.

But repression and terrorism have never yet killed the life of a nation, they but increase the disaffection and drive it underground to pursue an unhealthy course breaking out occasionally into crimes of violence. And this brings further repression and so the vicious circle goes on. No one can but deplore violence and political crime. But let us not forget that this is the direct outcome of continued repression. It is due to the perversity of the executive which blinds itself to the causes of the discontent and, like a mad bull, goes about attacking all who dare to stand up against it.

This was the state of the Punjab when her destinies were placed in the hands of Sir Michael O' Dwyer. It was a splendid opportunity for a broad minded and generous hearted statesman to strengthen the foundations of the Empire by doing the barest justice to the natural aspirations of a people to whom the Empire owed so much. How Sir Michael acquitted himself of this high trust every Indian knows.

The years 1915 to 1917 were occupied with various conspiracy trials by special tribunals constituted under the Defence of India Act. The vernacular press was ruthlessly suppressed and hundreds of persons were interned under the Defence of India Act or the Ingress Ordinance. It was during this period that Lokamanya Tilak and Srijut Bepin Chandra Pal were prohibited from entering the province lest they should introduce the virus of Home Rule here. This order was recently withdrawn as far as Mr. Tilak was concerned and I am sure you will all join with me in offering a most cordial welcome to him after his arduous labours in England for the cause. Mr. Bepin Chandra Pal is, I believe, still prohibited from coming here and we are thus deprived of his counsel and mature judgment at this critical juncture.

SATYAGRAHA

The Rowlatt Bills, bad as they were, were made even worse and more unacceptable to us by the environment in which they were set. Mahatma Gandhi rightly pointed out that they were the 'unmistakable symptom of the deep-seated disease in the governing body' — a disease which soon after broke out in all its virulence and naked ugliness. To fight this disease, Mahatma Gandhi started the great Satyagraha movement. A new force was introduced into our politics, a force with the most tremendous potentialities. India's masses were suddenly awakened and the message of Satyagraha entered the humblest home. Some of us did not entirely agree with the wording of the Satyagraha pledge, many were of opinion that the time had not come for civil disobedience. But few, I imagine, can disagree with the essentials of the doctrine. These, as I conceive them, are truth, fearlessness and non-violence. And, as a corollary, I would add that it is the right of every man to refuse to obey any law which goes against his conscience and to which he cannot with due regard to truth submit, and to suffer the consequences for such disobedience. This is specially so where

the laws are passed against the will of the people. I would here refer you to what an eminent American has said. Mr. Hadley, President of the Yale University says:

You can compel ignorant people to accept a statute, you can force bad men to obey it when they do not want to; but if a statute or a judicial decision passes the line of those duties which good and intelligent men as a body accept and impose upon themselves, it is at once nullified. The process of nullifying law has sometimes been called passive resistance.

The qualities I have mentioned above, whether you call them Satyagraha or by any other name, are essential if we are to take our rightful place amongst the nations of the world. We shall not be free or deserve freedom unless we have these qualities in ample measure. Unless we adhere to truth and discard fear we cannot get rid of the slave psychology, the outcome of generations of repression, which has been our sad inheritance. And violence cannot avail us. That is the special weapon of the West and we cannot hope to win freedom by armed force. But even if we could do so it would be a barren victory, a victory which would degrade and coarsen us and make us less fit to enjoy the freedom we had so won. We would develop the same vices against which we are contending now and in our turn would start the game of repression.

The spirit of Satyagraha was nobly shown by the great and peaceful demonstration of the 6th of April. That day must remain a red letter day for India. It was the greatest event of the year. Some persons, ignorant of history and Indian tradition, have likened the hartal to the general strike after the manner of the West, and have called it the forerunner of riot and bloodshed. But the hartal in India is a spiritual weapon, the old time method of showing sorrow, of having grievances redressed by patient suffering. It has from time immemorial been resorted to express grief at a national calamity, sorrow at the loss of a loved citizen. It is not used as a threat nor as a weapon against the forces of law and order. And this was fully shown on the Satyagraha Day when the mighty demonstration passed off peacefully without the slightest conflict with the police or military.

Some words of Mahatma Gandhi have been distorted to mean that the Satyagraha movement was the cause of the disturbance in India. Fellow-Delegates, I say most emphatically

that this was not so. Neither Satyagraha nor the hartal was the cause except in so far as they greatly displeased the authorities and made them provoke the people. There was no civil disobedience of laws in the Punjab. Satyagraha flourished more in other parts of the country and yet there were no disturbances there. The hartals of the 6th April did not cause any breach of the peace. It was only after two popular leaders of this city had been suddenly deported and Mahatma Gandhi, the most revered Indian of the day, had been arrested, that the passions of the populace broke loose in certain parts of the country. That would have been so even without Satyagraha or hartal. The disturbances were the result of the action of the authorities. They knew full well, in the Punjab at least, that the consequences of their provocative action would lead to trouble and they took measures accordingly.

MARTIAL LAW AND AFTER

The events which followed must be fresh in your memory. Martial Law as enforced and for long the Punjab was almost cut off from the rest of the world. The truth was hidden from us and we had to rely on the one-sided accounts presented by Government for our benefit. Outsiders were not permitted to enter the charmed area, even Mr. Andrews being turned out of the province. Within a few days of the declaration of Martial Law, the All India Congress Committee demanded a full and impartial enquiry, and a little later appointed a Sub-Committee to conduct an enquiry. This Sub-Committee laboured for months and collected a great deal of evidence. It was hoped to present this evidence to the official committee which had been announced.

AMRITSAR

I shall take the case of Amritsar which stands out more prominently than any other as affording in itself a complete illustration of the spirit on either side.

The people of Amritsar observed the 6th of April in the true Satyagraha spirit. So they did also the 9th April, the Ram Naumi day, and Mahomedans gladly and eagerly joined their Hindu brethren in celebrating the festival. There was no violence, no threats, and the processionists played the English National Anthem in honour of the Deputy Commissioner. That showed the psychology of the people of Amritsar on that Ram Naumi day, Hindus and Moslems observing the festival together, and both joining to do honour to the King-Emperor. The next few

hours brought a strange transformation. The bazaars were filled with mourning and the crowds that had rejoiced the night before, discarded their turbans and shoes in sorrow, for they heard that two of their loved leaders had been suddenly deported. And after the old Indian fashion, they went unarmed and bare-headed towards the Deputy Commissioner's house to pray for the release of their leaders. They were fired at, some were killed and a number wounded. But I shall not here deal with the circumstances of or the necessity of this firing. Again the temper of the crowd changed, and as is the way with crowds, it rapidly went to the other extreme. The passion for vengeance took possession of it and some parts of the mob committed those excesses for which we Indians cannot but hang our heads in shame. Whatever the treatment they had been subjected to, whatever the provocation offered, nothing can justify the murders which they committed, the shameful assault which they perpetrated on a defenceless woman, the arson and plunder of which they were guilty.

Yet again, the mood changed. After two or three hours of madness, the people, or rather such of them as had been guilty of the outrages, recovered control of themselves. They say the folly of their doings and, without the intervention of the police or military, of themselves stopped the destruction.

Such was the behaviour of the people of this city on those fateful days. The psychology of a crowd is a difficult thing to fathom, but I cannot but think that the history of those days would have been differently written if an attempt had been made to appreciate the viewpoint of the people.

Let us now consider some of the doings of the officials and the spirit which actuated them. They did not appreciate the inner significance of Satyagraha or the hartal. To them it was all a vast conspiracy, the forerunner of a second mutiny. They did not care to see what troubled the people, they did not search for the cause of this mighty movement. They looked upon the closing of the shops and the meetings and the demonstrations as personal insult to them. Even the fraternisation of Hindus and Moslems was anathema, an act in the great conspiracy. We all know what it is in this country for a body of men to walk bare-headed and bare-footed. It is the sign of deep grief, a token of a great calamity. But our rulers neither understand nor care to study the feelings and emotions of those whom they look upon as a subject race. In his evidence before Lord Hunter's Committee, Mr. Miles Irving, who was Deputy Com-

missioner of Amritsar at the time, was asked about the people who were proceeding to his house on the 10th. He stated:

Yes, they were coming to my house, I understood. They were coming not to make any ordinary protest. When people come, they come properly clad, but these men had put off their pugrees and shoes and they intended violence.

Question — It might have been the sign of mourning?

Answer — If it was mourning, it was violent mourning.

So, Mr. Miles Irving, after a life-time spent in the Indian Civil Service, thinks that the taking off of turbans and shoes is a sign of coming violence. Ignorance of the habits of a people is never excusable in one whose duty it is to govern them. It becomes criminal when it leads to grave consequences.

The sudden deportation of Dr. Kitchlew and Satyapal was a typical act of our administrators. Having convinced themselves that there was revolution in the air, that conspiracies were being hatched, that the wonderful calm of the 6th and 9th of April hid strange currents underneath, they took the only step which appeals to the mind of a bureaucrat. They knew that this would greatly upset the people, they knew that there might be trouble, but what matter? Could they not crush them with the "ample resources" at their disposal? It did not strike them that the people could be reasoned with or could be conciliated. Nor did they think of having recourse to the ordinary law courts of the country. They do not believe in the intricacies or the delays of the law. They believe in making themselves the judges and meting out swift and stern justice to their opponents.

THE JALLIANWALA BAGH

But saddest and most revolting of all was the great tragedy which occurred here on the Vaisakhi day. No Indian and no true Englishman can hear the story of the Khuni Bagh, as it is now aptly called, without a sickening feeling of horror. Our friend Mr. C.F. Andrews, to whom this province and our country is so much indebted, has described it "as a cold and calculated massacre". He says: "I have gone into every single detail with all the care and thoroughness that a personal investigation could command and it remains to me an unspeakable disgrace, indefensible, unpardonable, inexcusable." Such is the verdict of an Englishman. What words, Fellow-Delegates, can I use to express your feelings and mine whose kith and kin were

mercilessly shot down by the hundred in cold blood? Well may we grieve in the words of the Persian poet —

Our country is flooded with sorrow and woe.
O, or our land woe
Arise and for coffin and cerements go
O, for our land woe
With the blood of our men killed in this pursuit
The moon shines red;
Hill, plain and garden blood-red glow;
O, for our land woe.

The facts of this incident are before you, they have largely been admitted by the authorities. But I am not aware of any condemnation from the authorities. I do not know of any high official who has protested against this grim occurrence. That is a revelation of official mentality which staggers me. General Dyer, the author of the deed, has almost boasted of his achievement. He has sought to justify it. To him it was a 'merciful act' to fire without warning on an inoffensive crowd because it might have made fun of him if he had refrained from doing so. He admits that he could have dispersed it without firing but that would have been derogatory to his dignity as a defender of law and order. And so, in order to maintain his self-respect, he thought it his duty to 'fire and fire well' till his ammunition was exhausted and 2,000 persons lay dead and wounded. There ended his duty. It was none of his business. The defenders of law and order had won a great victory, they had crushed the great rebellion. What more was needed.

This is the deed which received the benedictions of Sir Michael O'Dwyer. This is the deed which has been defended by official after official before Hunter's Committee. The plea of necessity is raised, the plea that the massacre produced a good effect on the surrounding districts. We have heard of these excuses before when Louvain was razed to the ground when atrocities were committed at Dinant and Termonde. For these crimes against humanity the late Kaiser and his underlings are going to be tried. But General Dyer is secure. His late chief has blessed him, and his colleagues in the civil and military administration of this country stand by him and applaud his deed.

CRAWLING

The shooting in the Jallianwala Bagh was not the only feat which General Dyer performed. His subsequent conduct was

no less revealing of his perverted state of mind. He tells us that he "searches his brain" for a new punishment, a new terror for the people — something, as General Hudson put it in the Imperial Council, to "strike the imagination". And the punishment that was devised did credit to General Dyer's ingenuity and ferocity. It was worthy of the days of the Inquisition. All Indians who happened to pass through a certain lane were forced to crawl on their bellies like worms. This was the punishment meted out to all innocent and peaceful men who went that way because some hooligans had attacked Miss Sherwood in the lane some days before. No better method could have been devised to humble the people to the dust.

Of the other measures taken in Amritsar by General Dyer — the flogging in public places, the enforced salaaming, the cruel treatment of the best and most respected citizens — I shall not say much. They all tell the same tale of brutal terrorism, the attempt to crush the spirit of the people.

LAHORE

General Dyer was not the only apostle of this cult. There were many others who tried to rival his exploits in the other districts under Martial Law. Lt. Col. Frank Johnson, the expert from Bechuanaland, pursued the policy of "thoroughness" in the Lahore area. A "false and malicious" rumour that the Government intended to interfere with the marriage customs of the people was contradicted by an official communique from Simla and the contradiction was given due publicity. The rumour was set down as a base lie and a Mohamadan marriage was arranged in a village not far from Lahore. It so happened that the whole marriage party, including the bridegroom, the priests and the guests were flogged for having dared to assemble together during the Martial Law days. Col. Johnson has now been pleased to express his regret for this flogging and to tell us that it was due to the absence of tact in the official concerned. He himself exercised this "blessed virtue" by arresting 500 students and the professors of the Sanatan Dharma College and confining them in the fort because a Martial Law notice was damaged by some unknown person. He welcomed the opportunity of doing so, he "was looking for it". He tells us that he was waiting for an opportunity to bring home to the people the power of Martial Law. To him a walk of 16 miles daily for the students for three weeks in the scorching Lahore sun of April and May was no hardship. It was 'ordinary physical training of

a mild form'. But perhaps the most noticeable example of the tact and mentality of Col. Johnson was his order prohibiting more than two Indians from walking abreast. He tells us:

If more than two natives come and do not give way to European, that is likely to lead to breach of the peace.

GUJRANWALA

In Gujranwala, Col. O'Brien held sway, serene in the knowledge that he could do what he wished without let or hindrance. The Chief Secretary to the Punjab Government had assured him, even prior to Martial Law, that his action would be subsequently validated. This simple fact furnishes a more illuminating commentary on the new Indemnity Act than all the learned arguments of Sir George Lowndes in the Imperial Council. We can now understand the wholehearted support given to the measure by the Hon'ble the Chief Secretary to the Punjab Government and appreciate the wisdom of the provision in the Act which throws on the complainant the burden of proving want of good faith in the accused official when he is armed with a certificate from the Secretary to the Government.

KASUR

In Kasur, Capt. Doveton evolved fancy and novel punishments for the people and sought to teach them how to observe the ancient customs of India by touching the ground with their foreheads. He also had men stripped and flogged in the presence of prostitutes. His brother officer Lt. Col. MacRae meanwhile amused himself by having school boys flogged in public in order to set an example to all evil-doers. The bigger boys were picked out at random, perhaps because they could bear the whipping better. They were not guilty of any offence, "it was their misfortune", Col. MacRae tells us, and I take it that the punishment he awarded was in good faith. All the male inhabitants, boys and men, ten thousand in number, had to present themselves for the identification parade. The men arrested, 150 in number, were put in a cage placed on the station platform, and a public gallows was erected entirely at the instance of the Punjab Government, before any one was tried or condemned to death — so Col. MacRae informs us.

HINDU-MUSLIM UNITY

Besides the attempt to terrorize the people, the Punjab officials aimed a blow at the most valuable asset of our political

life, the union between Hindus and Muslims. You are aware, Fellow-Delegates, of the pathetic scene of fraternization between Hindus and Muslims which took place during the recent disturbances at Delhi, Lahore and other places accompanied with shouts of Hindu Musalman Ki Jai. These expressions of fellowship in a common trouble were treated by the Punjab official as heinous crimes amounting to open rebellion and waging war against the King, and a new offence was created which was defined as "fraternization of Hindus and Mohamedans against the Government by law established". One of the most shameful acts of the Martial Law authorities was to ridicule the Hindu-Muslim entente publicly in various ways. The admission of Hindus to the Mohamedan mosques and of Mohamedans to the Hindu temples, the drinking of water or sherbet from out of the same glass by Hindu and Mohamedan were unmistakable signs of a far deeper union of two than could be looked upon with equanimity by those who were interested in keeping them apart. And an attempt was made under official inspiration during the closing days of Martial Law to found separate political associations or Sabhas for Hindus, Mohamedans and Sikhs. I do not know what progress has been made in this direction but I trust that my fellow-countrymen of all communities will refrain from swallowing this fatal bait.

From matters which require political action I come to that which in its one aspect requires no political or legal action, yet which is one that is fraught with the greatest consequences for good. I refer to swadeshi, Mr. Gandhi has made this question his own. He would, if he could, revive the ancient industry of handspinning and make the country self-supporting. Modern economists may doubt the success of the scheme in this age of machinery. But Mr. Gandhi's scheme is one in which there is no waste and if it becomes popular it bids fair to solve the problem of finding a subsidiary occupation to agriculture. Seventy-three per cent of our population is agricultural. No agricultural population can exist without a supplementary industry. If our women were to take to hand-spinning and if hand-weaving became fashionable as before, without a big organisation and without a large outlay of money, we cannot only produce sufficient cloth for our wants but provide the peasantry with an auxiliary industry. I commend the scheme to the attention of the delegates.

CONCLUSION

Fellow-Delegates, I have had my say. It is for you now to deliberate on the many problems which await solution. Yours is a tremendous responsibility. India is entering upon a new phase of her existence and her future is in your keeping. It is for you to decide what is the best and the quickest way for us to reach our goal.

But what is our ultimate goal? We want freedom of thought, freedom of action, freedom to fashion our own destiny and build up an India — suited to the genius of her people. We do not wish to make of India a cheap and slavish imitation of the West. We have so far sought to liberalise our government on the western model. Whether that will satisfy us in future I cannot say. But let us bear in mind that western democracy has not proved a panacea for all ills; it has not yet solved the problem which surround us. Europe is torn asunder by the conflict between labour and capital, and the proletariat is raising its head against the rule of the classes. It may be that when we get the power to mould our institutions, we shall evolve a system of government, which will blend all that is best in the east and the west. Meanwhile, let us beware of the errors of the west and at the same time ease out the evil customs and traditions which have clung to us. We must aim at an India where all are free and have the fullest opportunities of development; where women have ceased to be in bondage, and the rigours of the caste system have disappeared; where there are no privileged classes or communities; where education is free and open to all; where the capitalist and the landlord do not oppress the labourer and the ryot; where labour is respected and well paid, and poverty, the nightmare of the present generation, is a thing of the past. Life will then be worth living in this country, it will be inspired by joy and hope, and the terrible misery we see around us will become a bad dream which has faded away from our memory, on our awakening to welcome the morning sun.

But that day is yet distant. We have still a difficult path, full of obstacles and pitfalls, before us. Let us march ahead with truth for our guide and courage our watchword and before long we shall reach the promised land.

Vande Mataram!

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS CALCUTTA—1928

Presidential Address delivered at the forty-third session of the Indian National Congress held in Calcutta on 29th December, 1928.

FRIENDS,

I am deeply grateful to you for the honour you have done me in electing me to preside for a second time over this great National Assembly. That honour, signal as it is, carries with it a burden which is none too light, and the bravest amongst us may well hesitate to shoulder it. You are well aware how I have hesitated. But the exceeding kindness with which you have repeated your confidence in me has left me no choice but to bow to your will and to endeavour to shoulder, as best as I can, the heavy burden of guiding a great nation in its struggle for freedom. That very kindness also emboldens me to expect from you every indulgence and co-operation in the high task with which you have entrusted me.

Nine years ago I had the honour to preside over the National Congress. Martial Law with all its grim consequences and implications had just come and gone, and we were preparing for a great tussle with our alien rulers. That trial of strength came soon after and although we did not emerge victorious, the honours of war were with us and the promise of future victory was ours. The great giant that is India, woke up for a while and the very awakening shook the foundations of British rule. There was a reaction and a relapse; but again we see unmistakable signs of another and a greater awakening, and who will stop India in her forward stride when she is fully awake? Non-cooperation followed Dyerism and O'Dwyerism. Something perilously like these is again in the air and again we are on the threshold of another great struggle for freedom.

In this struggle we shall unhappily miss many familiar faces, many trusty counsellors and gallant warriors who are no more. We shall miss Hakeem Ajmal Khan and Lala Lajpat Rai whose death in the course of the year has deprived India in the moment

of trial of two of her most trusted and valiant sons. Another ex-president who has passed away was Lord Sinha. Among other national workers who have gone I should like to mention specially Maganlal Gandhi, Gopabandhu Das and Andhraratna Gopal-krishnayya. On behalf of this Congress I offer its respectful condolence to the families of our departed colleagues.

IDEALS AND PRACTICAL CONSIDERATIONS

I now proceed to place my views and suggestions before you on the immediate work before us. To prevent disappointment I must at the outset prepare you for a plain matter-of-fact statement from a plain matter-of-fact man of the world as it should be. Let me warn you that you will be disappointed if you expect from me anything in the nature of high idealism presented in an attractive setting of word and phrase. Not that I deprecate idealism in the broader sense or am less convinced than anybody else of the supreme necessity of keeping the highest ideal in view, provided you try to live up to it. But pure idealism completely divorced from realities has no place in politics and is but a happy dream which must sooner or later end in a rude awakening. However high pitched the ideal may be, and the higher the better, the actual work to be done in the pursuit of that ideal must be guided solely by practical considerations. I am sure that we are all agreed upon the ideal though we give it different names. I am equally sure that we are also agreed upon the only way to achieve it. But the tragedy of it all is that we have so magnified our differences on what to my mind are non-essentials that we are unable to see the wood for the trees. These differences lie at the root of our failures, and are responsible for conflicting schools of thought which have rendered common action impossible. In my humble judgement the whole trouble is traceable to varying tendencies in the different schools to overrate some and underrate other aspects of the situation. For instance, there is one school of thought which exaggerates our weak points to such an extent as to feel utterly helpless in achieving anything except through the grace and goodwill of the very people who are oppressing and exploiting us. As against this the opposite school which takes note either of our weak points or of the strength of the opposing forces and is ready to dash out full steam ahead on uncharted seas. It will be my humble endeavour to face the stern realities of the situation without blinking and then to suggest what seems to me to be the most suitable line of action for your acceptance.

It is, I take it, the duty of every man to help as far as it lies in his power to make his country fit to live in. But the actual process to be employed in bringing about the necessary change from what is to what should be, depends upon circumstances which cannot be the same in all countries and at all times. The essentials considered in the abstract are always the same, but concrete cases present peculiarities of their own to which no general rule or particular example is wholly applicable.

No two peoples in the world have started from exactly the same point or followed exactly the same course. Indeed the same people have had to change their course from time to time to suit the altered conditions of ever-changing situations. We can always profit by the failure of others but seldom, if ever, by their success. The reason is obvious. It is easy to avoid mistakes made by others if we find ourselves in the same or similar predicament in which those mistakes were committed, but it is impossible to bring into existence the potent factors which made for success in some other country if those factors are entirely lacking in our own. The practical problem before us is to find out how under the conditions in which we live and with the materials at our disposal we can deliver the goods at the lowest cost of production. False analogies from other countries can only help to confuse the real issue.

To form a true ideal of the work before us we have to answer three questions:

- (i) Where do we stand?
- (ii) What is our destination? and
- (iii) How can we reach our destination?

I shall endeavour to answer these questions to the best of my ability more from the practical than the dialectical point of view.

WHERE DO WE STAND?

We have first to make sure of where we stand so as not to lose our bearings after we start. The point has a two-fold aspect — one in relation to the Government and the other in relation to ourselves. As to the former we all know that whatever political or civil rights we possess they are in the nature of a conditional gift enjoyable during the pleasure of our rulers. They can deprive us and indeed have from time to time actually deprived thousands of us, of those rights at any moment with or without reason at their sweet will by using the vast reserve of arbitrary power

which they retain in their own hands. I will not encumber this address by repeating an oft-told tale. It is well known how the present Government has re-inforced and consolidated itself in the political and economic spheres by legislative, executive and administrative action. It will serve no useful purpose to take you through the long list of repressive and oppressive measures which have been taken in India from the beginning of British rule down to the present day, or to remind you of how, after we were thoroughly crippled, the door to recovery was completely barred against us. We have been persistently denied all "opportunity for self-realisation, self-development, and self-fulfilment for which Desbandhu Chittaranjan Das fought so valiantly in the closing years of his life. We have been scrupulously shut out of all effective part in the internal and external affairs of our own country.

THE "PROGRESS" OF THE COMMISSION

The solemn promises of responsible government have found fulfilment in that colossal fraud, the Statutory Commission, which is now careering along our streets leaving bleeding heads and broken bones behind. Nothing has so clearly brought out the cold callousness of the officials on the one hand, and the utter helplessness of the people to protect themselves on the other, as the progress of this Commission from town to town. To my mind the circumstances attending it are symptomatic of a grave organic infection and not merely of the well-known functional incapacity of the Government. It shows the presence of the toxin of Dyerism in their internal economy. The happenings at Lahore and Lucknow are only mild eruptions on the surface indicating the deep-rooted disease within. We are indebted to the stupidity of the special correspondent of an English newspaper of Calcutta for glimpse into the real mentality of the members of the Commission which may be taken as a faithful reflection of the mentality of the Government. He says:

"The Cawnpore scenes have apparently put the finishing touch on a psychic impression which the riotous scenes in Delhi had begun. Some of the Commissioners are making no secret of their indignation that such things should be permitted. I feel that if some of the Commissioners had to write their report this week, Lord Salisbury's famous prescription in another matter, 'twenty years of resolute government', would recommend itself much more to their minds than any advance whatever."

So that the only way to achieve responsible government for

India is to fawn upon the great Commissioners and flatter them with a false declaration of confidence. And the surest way to invite twenty years of resolute government is to show your true feelings about the Commission. All I need say is that India will refuse to take responsible government as a reward for servility and will welcome resolute government; but whether it will last for twenty years the future alone can decide. This prophet of evil has even dared to envisage the future. He proceeds to say:

"I seemed to sense a vision of realities stark and grim, and catch from the future the tramp of marching men."

These remarks were called forth by the grand boycott demonstration which greeted the Commission on their arrival at Cawnpore. It is remarkable that while this correspondent was sending his inspired vision, the Police Superintendent of Cawnpore was writing to the organisers thanking them for the excellence of their arrangements and the absence of any untoward incident. That letter has, I believe, been published in the press. But the editor excelled the correspondent, as was befitting his superior position, by indulging in a particularly venomous attack, in the course of which he threatened resistance of the Indian demand for freedom to the 'last ounce of ammunition'. I am sure that if this editor and his correspondent had an ounce of discretion between them both, they would not have so easily given away official secrets. But we must thank them for their timely warning and assure them that we are ready. There can be nothing better than 'resolute Government' at this juncture to bring matters to a head.

THE VICEROY'S THREAT

Our English friends affect to be shocked at these demonstrations. I should have ignored the foolish talk in which they have indulged but a responsible statement has recently been publicly made in this City on the subject by the Viceroy, and I feel that I cannot allow it to go unchallenged. However much one may regret untoward incidents, the right to hold peaceful demonstrations to give expression to strong public feeling has never been doubted. The demonstrations held after the return of the Commission to India have been characterised as unmannerly and offensive. My answer is that such demonstrations must in their very nature be offensive to those against whom they are made, and it is hardly reasonable to expect drawing-room manners from a hostile crowd. The Viceroy has uttered two

platitudes and a threat. The first platitude is: "However much those who organise such demonstrations may themselves deprecate violence, they are, when it comes to the point, often quite incapable of controlling the forces they have excited." The second is: Those who deliberately embark on a course so crude, so senseless and so dangerous, whatever the object they may mistakenly desire to serve, incur a very heavy responsibility."

The threat is that 'it is the plain duty of Government to take whatever steps it deems necessary to prevent the recurrence of these discreditable incidents.'

I agree with His Excellency on the first platitude and would also agree with him on the second if he could substitute the word natural for the words crude and senseless. But both platitudes have no relation whatever to actual facts. As regards the threat it was anticipated by the English newspaper a week before; it indicates an early materialisation of resolute government. I have already dealt with the latter and I have nothing further to add. In regard to the former I have pointed out that it has been established to our entire satisfaction by public statements of responsible Indian leaders, which no amount of departmental enquiry can controvert that all violence at these demonstrations was started by the Police, and attempts made by the people at one or two places to retaliate were speedily put down by their leaders. But if a stray missile struck a motor car, one of the occupants of which happened to be a lady, or some men in the large crowds came too near the great Commissioners and waived their black flags in close proximity to their highly respectable noses, is it a matter about which any undue fuss should be made? I am sure that under similar circumstances worse things would have happened in England. I should like to put a few questions to those who have affected righteous indignation at the happenings at Lahore, Lucknow and Cawnpore. Those questions are:

FIVE QUESTIONS TO ENGLISHMEN

(1) Would it be possible in any European country more specially in England for a commission of enquiry, which the people looked upon as a national insult, to travel in the comfort and safety enjoyed by Sir John Simon and his colleagues in India?

(2) Would not all the silken flags and gold embroidered decorations such as were displayed in the Butler Park have been torn to shreds and all the beautiful multi-coloured electric lamps, shining on them, smashed to pieces, if any attempt were made

in England to entertain publicly, men connected with a mission as highly unpopular among Englishmen as Sir John Simon and his colleagues are among Indians?

(3) How would any Englishman like his house to be broken into, his guest treated to a sound thrashing and then arrested and imprisoned for a night for making a peaceful demonstration from his own terrace?

(4) How would an Englishman like to be imprisoned in his own house, for however short a time, for holding opinions against the Government of the day?

(5) How long would a government last in England which allowed the things mentioned in questions (3) and (4) to happen?

We know that the house of the great nationalist nobleman of Oudh, the Maharaja of Mahmudabad, was surrounded with a cordon of police while his reactionary compeers were entertaining the Commission in a neighbouring park. The Maharaja, as is well known, bravely stands for the boycott of the Commission and has refused to take part in any function given in its honour. Where is the liberty of the ordinary citizen when the premier Baron of Oudh, a retired Home Member of the U.P. Government, decorated by it with the highest honours in its gift, can be imprisoned in his own house simply because he holds an opinion disliked by the Government? Is this anything very different from the resolute government foreshadowed by the Viceroy and the English newspaper? It has actually come upon us since.

The recent murder of a police official at Lahore has provided an excuse to those whose minds are already made up to forge new weapons to destroy the forces of Nationalism. It need hardly be said that the crime is to be regretted. Congressmen, whether belonging to the school of independence or that of dominion status, stand, and have always stood, for a policy of strict non-violence and have given practical proof of the sincerity of their convictions on numerous occasions, including the recent incidents at Lahore, Lucknow, Cawnpore and Patna. It is at present impossible to say whether the Lahore murder had a political significance. But assuming that it had, we cannot shut our eyes to the fact that the real responsibilities for such incidents lie on the shoulders of the Government. History teaches us that incidents like these are symptomatic of a condition which can only be dealt with effectively by a wise and radical change of policy, and not by resort to coercive methods which defeat their own purpose and are resisted by the people with all the

strength of which they are capable. But the bureaucracy has little use for lessons of history. The orgy of repression has already begun in the Punjab and is likely to extend at no distant date to the other provinces.

Forgive me for taking so much of your time over the Commission. It might well have been completely ignored, were it not for the direct bearing it has on the work before us. It is a portent of evil, but not without the good which comes out of all evil. It has shown us the fine courage of our men, specially the students, their serene coolness under the gravest provocation, their splendid stand against brutal lathi assaults with their own empty hands crossed on their chests, their gallant rescues of their comrades and leaders in utter disregard of the injuries inflicted on them. Let those who take this for cowardice try their 'resolute government' and they will soon be disillusioned. They will have the satisfaction of shooting brave inoffensive men with their backs to the wall and chests bared to receive the bullet.

THE ECONOMIC SPHERE

Let us now turn to the economic sphere. To have an adequate idea of the continuous exploitation to which we have been subjected, and of the enormous extent of the economic hold acquired by England over us by legislation and otherwise, it would be necessary to review the whole period of the British occupation of India. I shall however content myself by reminding you of a few historical facts the accuracy of which cannot be questioned. Besides maintaining the costliest civil and military services in the world at our expense, the solicitude of our trustees, as they delight to call themselves, has been mainly directed to the creation of markets in India for England's manufacturers. This laudable object has been achieved by a number of direct and indirect methods too numerous to be dealt with satisfactorily in the course of this address. It is a long story beginning from the days of the well-known barbarities committed on the Dacca artisans and continued through periods of more refined spoliation till we come to the present-day powerful banking, commercial and industrial combines which are now successfully choking off indigenous enterprise.

But by far the most important economic hold which the Government has acquired over the country by legislation and otherwise is through its manipulation of the country. It will be tedious to go into the history of this highly technical question, but the fact is now admitted that the present depression in

Indian commerce and industry and the low buying power of the cultivator are due to the action of the Government in forcing up the rupee from 1s. 4d. to 1s. 6d. It has resulted in pinching the over-taxed cultivator of 12½ per cent in the price of the raw materials, produced by him, and giving a bonus of 12½ per cent to the importer of foreign manufactures into India. If the Government had the interest of India at all in view it would have reduced the land tax by 12½ per cent and imposed an import duty of 12½ per cent on all goods which can be manufactured in the country including textile goods.

SIR GEORGE GODFREY'S SPEECH EXAMINED

It was left to Sir George Godfrey of the Bengal Chamber of Commerce to discover for the first time the other day that all the authentic records of India's prosperous trade and commerce before the advent of the British were pure legends. In the course of an utterance at the last meeting of the Associated Chambers of Commerce attacking everything Indian, he justified the British exploitation of India using fiction for fact. He said: "If Lancashire is accused of devastating India, Lancashire has equally devastated the English countryside." What a comparison! I presume Sir George Godfrey is in possession of some history of England unknown to the rest of the world which records the fact that the weavers of the English countryside were subjected to the pains and penalties that were inflicted, as proved by European witnesses, on Indian weavers by the East India Company, that the English countryside was compelled to buy Lancashire cloth in the place of homespun; and the further fact that a Cotton Excise Duty was imposed on Lancashire textile while foreign goods were imported free of duty.

His reference to Indian shipping betrays the same fondness for fiction as his reference to textile does — for fact I must refer you and him to the excellent literature that Mr. Haji has published on his harmless and timely bill. Indian shipping was as deliberately sacrificed for the English interest as was India's greatest cottage industry. Now that a belated bill is before the legislature seeking somewhat to stop the continuance of the grave wrong done to Indian shippers by the English monopoly, the monopolists accuse us of attempting racial discrimination and pass a resolution demanding that the legislature shall not have the power to pass the bill.

Not content with distorting history this English merchant prince almost hit below the belt when he suggested that the

framers of the draft constitution now before the country had sought to disfranchise Britishers. It was his duty before he brought so grave a charge against responsible men to make sure of his facts. He should have known that as soon as the Committee discovered that there was a possibility of a doubt they removed it in their supplementary report which was before the country days before Sir George Godfrey delivered his oration.

OUR SOCIAL EVILS

It will be clear from what I have said above that the process of forging new chains to keep us in perpetual bondage has gone on simultaneously with a long protracted, ruthless exploitation of our material resources. While, however, the Government has to answer for a great deal it must be frankly confessed that we cannot honestly acquit ourselves of all blame for our present plight. The strength or weakness of a nation depends upon the strength or weakness of the individual which keeps its component parts together. In our case this tie has not for centuries been very strong and with the march of the new order of things has lost much of what binding force it ever had. There is no overlooking the fact that we are divided into a number of large and small communities, more or less disorganised and demoralised. The Government is undoubtedly responsible for the prevailing ignorance and poverty among the masses and in a very large measure for the growing hostility among the classes. But it certainly is not to blame for the evils of our own social system, which has relegated millions of our people as good as ourselves, to the category of untouchables and depressed classes, and has put our women under restrictions which deprive them not only of many natural rights but also of the opportunity to render national service. Nor is the Government solely accountable for all the communal differences which have contributed a dark chapter to the recent history of our own times.

RELIGION AND POLITICS

The Committee of the All-Parties has dealt fully in its report with the communal problem in India. It has offered a solution which I trust this Congress will accept. The problem before us however is a wider and more fundamental one than a mere adjustment of communal differences. It is what place, if any, religion, as practised and understood to-day, should occupy in our public life.

Whatever the higher conception of religion may be, it has

in our day-to-day life come to signify bigotry and fanaticism, intolerance and narrow-mindedness, selfishness and the negation of many of the qualities which go to build a healthy society. Its chief inspiration is hatred of him who does not profess it, and in its holy name more crimes have been committed than for any professedly mundane object. Can any sane person consider the trivial and ridiculous causes of conflict between Hindu and Moslem, or between sect and sect, and not wonder how any one with a grain of sense should be affected by them?

The aim of all education and progress is to develop the collective instinct in man; to teach him to co-operate with his neighbours; and to make him feel that his individual good depends on the good of society as a whole. Only thus can the selfish and individualistic instincts be suppressed and the energy of mankind be diverted from mutual competition to co-operation for the common good. Religion as practised to-day is, however, the greatest separatist force. It puts artificial barriers between man and man and prevents the development of healthy and co-operative national life. Not content with its reactionary influences on matters, it had invaded the domain of politics and economics, and affects every aspect of our life. Its association with politics has been to the good of neither. Religion has been degraded and politics has sunk into the mire. Complete divorce of one from the other is the only remedy.

But this is not all. A strange fatality has been pursuing our political activities from a very early stage. We have never been entirely free from serious differences among those who have taken up the patriotic duty of liberating their country in right earnest and have not winced at any sacrifice in discharging it to the best of their ability. These differences have inevitably set back the hands of the clock and opened the door to disruptive forces. There have been serious splits among the leaders which have spread with lightning rapidity to the rank and file on almost every occasion when a forward move has been taken or even contemplated. We do well to profit by the lesson of the past lest the inexorable fate which has been pursuing us for the last 20 years or more should overtake us again. It is close upon our heels already in the garb of Socialism and will devour both complete independence and Dominion Status if you let it approach nearer.

The brief outline I have given above will show that we stand at present in the thickest part of the wood. We suffer from two sets of serious disabilities—those imposed upon us by foreign

rule and those of our own makings. It is difficult to stand in the centre, heavily handicapped by one in trying to get rid of the other. We have to break through the vicious circle before we can hope to be out of the wood.

This is my answer to the question—where do we stand?

WHAT IS OUR DESTINATION

The second question is: What is our destination?

My answer straight, and simple is “Freedom” in substance, and not merely in form, whatever name you call it. The Madras Congress has declared the goal as complete independence. The All-Parties’ Committee has recommended dominion status. I have explained my position more than once but with your permission I shall re-state it here as clearly as I can. To put in a nutshell it comes to this: I am for complete independence—as complete as it can be—but I am not against full dominion status—as full as any dominion possesses it to-day—provided I get it before it loses all attraction. I am for severance of British connection as it subsists with us to-day but am not against it as it exists with the dominions.

INDEPENDENCE AND DOMINION STATUS

Let me explain. National freedom unrestricted and unqualified is the natural craving of the human soul. I do not believe that there is a single Indian, be he or she a member of a party or group, or one completely detached from all parties and groups who does not love freedom or will not have it. Differences arise only when the question is raised whether it is possible to have and to keep freedom and it is then that we find opinion sharply divided. There are those who have the faith in them and in their countrymen to answer the question by an emphatic “yes” and I may at once say that I am one of them. But there are also those who will shake their heads, some from conviction and others in doubt. Complete independence is the goal of the former, dominion status that of the latter. I will not undertake a fruitless enquiry into the relation or what of relation between independence and dominion status. It does not matter to me whether theoretically they belong to the same or different stocks, or whether one is or is not the negation of the other. What matters to me is that Dominion Status involves a very considerable measure of freedom bordering on complete Independence and in any way preferable to complete dependence. I am therefore not against an exchange of our abject dependence

with whatever measure of freedom there is in full Dominion Status if such exchange is offered. But I cannot make Dominion Status my goal as it has to come from another party over whom I have no control. The only way I can say "in right earnest" because I know mere bluff will not take far; it is only when complete Independence is in sight that the party in power will be inclined to negotiate for something less. Empty bluff will not carry us to that stage. Solid work and ungrudging sacrifice alone will do it. When that work is done, and sacrifice made, the party having the whip in hand will dictate. Whether it is to be dominion status or complete independence will depend upon whether the conditions then prevailing are similar to those of Ireland or to those of the United States of America at the time when each came into what she now is. Meanwhile there is nothing before us but a protracted life and death struggle on the one side, and continued repression relieved by an occasional dose of undiluted oppression on the other. It follows therefore that whatever the ultimate goal, we must be prepared to traverse the same thorny path to reach it. If we are not so prepared, independence will ever be an idle dream and dominion status an ever receding will-o'-the-wisp.

DOMINION STATUS ON THE WAY TO INDEPENDENCE

I must here notice another part of the Viceroy's speech from which I have already quoted. He draws a dark picture of the damage that India is "Likely to suffer at the hands of its false friends who would guide it towards the morass of independence." The description of 'Independence' as a 'morass' is rather original. It would be more correct to say that we have to cross a morass before we arrive to independence. But the morass surrounds us on all sides and we can arrive nowhere except by crossing it. That being so our friends who support the movement say: why not make for independence pure and unadulterated which depends upon your own effort, however long and arduous, instead of floundering in the direction of dominion status which depends upon the goodwill of Britain? They argue that it will be sheer waste of time, energy, and sacrifice first to struggle in the morass for dominion status and when you find your way barred then to brangle back to starting point and plunge again into the same morass to struggle for independence. From Lord Irwin's point of view this argument is unanswerable. From my point of view dominion status is passed on the way to independence, and if it is refused you have simply to press on to your destination which

must always be independence. Lord Irwin's argument based on loyalty to the Crown can easily be overstressed. Loyalty is a fine thing but the strain it can bear is not unlimited.

But it is obvious that independence does not mean walking out of the world. If you continue to live in it you must come across others who also live in the same state in the present-day world conditions to cut off all political, economic, and social relations with other states. Indeed, the more independent you are the more necessary it will be to establish relations all round. When, therefore, we talk of the severance of the British connection we do not mean a cessation of all relations, but such appropriate change in existing relations as is necessary to transform a dependency into a free state. The extent of the change will depend upon the extent of freedom we achieve. If it is dominion status, the change, as it is now well understood, will be from a dependency to an autonomous nation, free and equal member of the British Commonwealth of nations. If, however, it is complete independence, India will stand out of the British Commonwealth of nations and the nature of her relations with Great Britain will be determined by treaty and mutual understanding. In either case, some connection with other nations including the British must subsist if we mean to take an active part in shaping our own future and that of the world.

Mahatma Gandhi presiding at the Belgaum Congress said:

"In my opinion, if the British Government mean what they say and honestly help us to equality, it would be a greater triumph than a complete severance of the British connection. I would therefore strive for Swaraj within the Empire but would not hesitate to sever all connection if severance became a necessity through Britain's own fault. I would thus throw the burden of separation on the British people."

ACQUIRE ABILITY TO BE INDEPENDENT

This was four years ago. Much water has since flown under the bridges. We have striven and striven hard for Swaraj within the Empire but the British people have not so far shown any inclination to help us honestly to equality. All the indications have been to the contrary. Indeed responsible British statesmen have repeatedly declared that full dominion status is yet a far cry. I therefore fully sympathise with those who have exhausted their patience and have now raised the cry of complete separation. But let us fully grasp the meaning of Mahatma Gandhi. I am sure he never meant that the moment we felt sure that Britain

was not going to give us dominion status we were to declare for independence irrespective of our own readiness to enforce it. He was, to my mind, referring to the time when we acquired what I have described as the whip hand. The time admittedly has not arrived.

In the same address, Mahatmaji said:

"The better mind of the world desires to-day not absolutely independent states warring one against another but a federation of friendly inter-dependent states. The consummation of that event may be far off. I want to make no grand claim for our country. But I see nothing grand or impossible about our expressing our readiness for universal inter-dependence rather than independence. It should rest with Britain to say that she will have no real alliance with India."

And then comes the pregnant passage which I earnestly commend to your very serious consideration. It runs thus:—

"I desire the ability to be totally independent without asserting the independence. Any scheme that I would frame while Britain declares her goal about India to be complete equality within the Empire would be that of an alliance and not of independence without alliance."

So far as Britain's formal declaration of her goal about India is concerned, it is complete equality within the Empire. The scheme prepared by the All-Parties' Committee and adopted by the Conferences is therefore in full accord with Mahatmaji's views.

The truth is that we cannot get anything from England except by proving our strength. The way to acquire that strength is to organise ourselves and our resources. Such organisation is as necessary for those who desire dominion status as it is for those who work for complete independence. That being so the obvious course is to work together up to the point the weakest of us is ready to go. If he is not disillusioned by the time we reached that point, let us leave him there and forge ahead.

A MISAPPREHENSION REMOVED

I must here ease the minds of those who fear that the moment dominion status is granted to us, we shall use it to throw off British connection altogether. In the speech from which I have already quoted Lord Irwin said:

"Those in Great Britain who sympathise most warmly with the ideal of India attaining at the earliest possible moment the status of any of the other great Dominions of the Crown, will

find the ground cut from their feet if British opinion ever becomes convinced, as some apparently are now endeavouring to convince it, that the so-called dominion status was only valued by India as a stepping stone to a complete severance of her connection with the British Commonwealth."

There is no foundation for this apprehension and there is no reason whatever why we should seek complete severance of British connection if we are put on terms of perfect equality with the Dominions. If we are not put on such terms it will not be dominion status; we will not take a colourable initiation. It must therefore be clearly understood that dominion status has to be offered and accepted with all its implications, its rights and obligations, which both parties will be in honour bound to respect and uphold. But as Mahatmaji has put it, we "would not hesitate to sever all connection, if severance became necessary through Britain's own fault." It is conceivable that we may be driven to separation by the treatment accorded to us by Britain herself, and in that case we shall have precisely the same remedy as the dominions now have.

It will, I hope, now be clear why I say that I am for complete independence and at the same time not against dominion status, if the latter comes without avoidable delay. It is impossible to say which of the parties will have the whip hand at the psychological moment. Great Britain has the whip hand to-day, and the psychological moment for her to offer, and for India to accept, full dominion status, has arrived. If Great Britain will not avail herself of the opportunity India will have the whip hand to-morrow, and then will come the psychological moment for her to wrest complete independence from Great Britain. No offer of dominion status will then be acceptable.

DESHABANDHU DAS'S OFFER RECALLED

Objection is taken to the preparation of any scheme of government on dominion lines by us on the ground that it is for Britain, and not India, to make the offer. It is pointed out that those who enjoy dominion status did not fight for it but achieved it in the course of their struggle for complete independence, the offer having come from Great Britain. I am quite clear in my own mind that substantially the same process will have to be repeated in India if we are ever to have dominion status, and as I have already pointed out, we cannot reasonably accept it unless complete independence is in sight. But I cannot understand why it is not open to us to offer terms to Great Britain as much as

it is open to her to offer terms to us. If the offer is honourable to those who make it as well as to those who accept it, it does not matter to me who is the proposer and who the acceptor. I do not believe that we have among the soldiers of independence a more fearless and selfless patriot and a greater fighter for the freedom of India than Deshabandhu Chittaranjan Das was. Let me recall to your minds the great speech he delivered at Faridpore in which he said that all he needed was a full and fair opportunity for self-realisation, self-development and self-fulfilment. He did not hesitate to make an offer of full co-operation to the bureaucracy if it would only afford that opportunity, show a real change of heart, and guarantee "Swaraj in the fullest sense to come automatically in the near future." That offer was no sign of weakness. It was made in the full consciousness of strength. "If," he declared, "our offer of settlement should not meet with any response we must go on with our national work on the lines which we have pursued for the last two years so that it may become impossible for the Government to carry on the administration of the country except by the exercise of its exceptional power; and when the time comes we shall not hesitate to advise our countrymen not to pay taxes which are sought to be raised by the exercise of their exceptional powers".

Those were the words of a statesman, a political philosopher and a determined fighter for liberty, a man who believed in the doctrine of self-reliance which he preached. It was not beneath his dignity to offer a settlement while he was preparing for a great fight. As a matter of fact, Britain has already made an offer of a kind in the most solemn manner she could, by embodying it in the preamble of the Government of India Act. It is true that this offer is utterly inadequate and wholly unacceptable. The proper course is to make a counter offer. This is what the All-Parties Committee has done.

THE QUESTION OF SANCTIONS

A good deal has been said about developing sanctions. On this point I am content to quote Mahatma Gandhi. Commenting on the All-Parties Committee's Report he said in "Young India":

"There is still much diplomatic work to be done. But more than the diplomatic work is that of forging the sanction. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru truly observed that whether it was dominion status or independence, a proper sanction would be necessary if the National Demand was to be enforced. Bardoli has shown

the way if the sanction has to be non-violent. The Congress creed has non-violence as its integral part. There is no denying the fact that non-violence had receded in the background before Bardoli. But even as the Nehru Report has made an unanimous demand possible, Bardoli has brought back the vanishing faith in non-violence. If, then, we are sure of the sanction, we need not worry whether Swaraj is otherwise spelt dominion status or independence. Dominion status can easily become more than independence, if we have sanction to back it. Independence can easily become a farce if it lacks sanction. What is in a name if we have the reality? A rose smells just as sweet whether you know it by that name or any other. Let us therefore make up our minds as to whether it is to be non-violence or violence and let the rank and file work for the sanction in real earnest even as the diplomats must work at Constitution making."

I have now given my answer to the second question I formulated. It is:

Our destination is Freedom the form and extent of which will depend upon the time when, and the circumstances under which it comes.

HOW CAN WE REACH OUR DESTINATION

Meanwhile there is nothing for us but to do the work necessary for all forms and all degrees of freedom. That work is one and the same and I now proceed to consider it.

It must be remembered that the same Congress which declared complete independence as our goal, by another resolution invited all parties to confer with its Working Committee to devise a constitution for India based on common agreement. It was then as obvious as it is now that no party outside the Congress was prepared to set its goal as high as complete independence from the point of view of its own conception of practical politics. The Congress must therefore be taken to have embarked upon the enquiry with full knowledge of this fact. What then was the object of directing the Working Committee to call an All Parties Conference or Convention if complete independence was not merely the goal but the next immediate step? It certainly was not for the mere fun of it. The importance of the Convention and the political value of its agreed conclusion are quite obvious and must have been so to the Congress when it passed the resolution. But the Congress could not, at the time, have any clear conception as to what the next step would be after the All-Parties Convention came to decisions. That would depend upon the

extent of agreement reached and the nature of the decisions arrived at which could not then be known.

THE NATIONAL CONVENTION

The Working Committee has faithfully carried out the instructions of the Madras Congress and called the All-Parties Conferences. The remarkable success of these national gatherings in their endeavour to find the highest common basis for a constitution for India, is well known. Never before, in the history of our public movements, so many organisations — political, labour, religious, communal, and commercial — as took part in those gatherings have come of this great achievement—perhaps the greatest since the day of Non-co-operation belongs to the Congress which conceived the idea, and more specially to Dr. Ansari, the President of the Congress who never spared himself in carrying it out. The resolutions of the National Convention will come up before you in the course of this session. You will have all the materials before you and it will be your solemn duty to discharge the obligation inherited from the Madras Congress to determine the next step. You have succeeded to the great asset left by the Congress — the goal of complete independence. You cannot shirk its liability. The future will depend largely on the manner in which you discharge that liability.

The recommendations of the reports of the Committee appointed by the All-Parties Conference are based on the principle of the highest common agreement. That principle I earnestly commend to this Congress for its acceptance. The Congress is in itself an All-Parties Conference and it is its duty to deal with every question coming before it from the point of view of the greatest good of all the parties and the people of India. So far the Congress has been discharging this duty on its own initiative taking upon itself the responsibility of determining what is good for the people and regulating its policy accordingly. This is the first time in the history of the Congress that it invited the people of India through the various organisations representing them, to determine for themselves what is good for them. In doing so the Congress acted on the principle of self-determination. Those invited have accepted the invitation of the Congress as they never did before — no not even in the palmy days of Non-co-operation — when with all the millions behind it, the Congress was not supported by many well-known organisations. There is not one organisation — political, social religious, communal, commercial, industrial or labour — of any note or stand-

ing to-day which did not take part in the All-Parties Conferences and the National Convention or which, having so taken part, has not given up much that it valued for the sake of unity. It is an achievement now be presented to you. Will you accept it or spurn it? If you have any faith in your claim for self-determination, you have no right to spurn it even if you disagree. The only question is, whether there is such a consensus of agreement on the scheme that it can be treated as self-determined. I say there is. The only dissentients are a few communalists. I must say frankly that I do not understand them and am unable to reconcile their claim for special communal advantages with their desire for complete independence. Some of these would reserve to a handful the right to arrest the whole course of the country's legislation. Others are prepared to go back even on joint electorates if a few additional seats are not given to them in the legislatures. Their dissent with a scheme of dominion status can hardly be taken seriously.

I have so far commented adversely on the speech of the Viceroy delivered in this city recently, but I think I owe it to His Excellency to express my appreciation of another part of the same speech which is germane to the point I am discussing. He said:

"There is no use pretending that the different classes, the different communities, the different races in India will not have different standards, but in such disagreement there is nothing unhealthy or unnatural. If interests clash it does not mean that one set of interests is to be swept away or that one community need smother its individuality to suit the whole. Each has its own good qualities, its own ideals to pursue, its own rights to maintain, but each should be capable of self-realisation in its own sphere and at the same time taking its own place in the whole scheme of national life."

I heartily endorse this sentiment but am not quite sure that His Excellency and I are not at cross purposes. I claim that the Report of the All-Parties Committee allows ample scope to every community to pursue its own ideals and affords it ample opportunity for "self-realisation in its own sphere" and at the same time gives to each "its own place in the whole scheme of national life". I have, however, a shrewd suspicion that Lord Irwin does not mean the same things. But let me proceed.

Apart from the principle of self-determination the only other criterion by which you can judge the All-Parties scheme is the real and lasting good of the country. Spurn it, by all means,

if you honestly think that it is not for the real and lasting good of the country and only offers a temporary advantage, at the sacrifice of the ultimate goal. But do not spurn it, merely, because it conflicts with theories and dogmas which have no relation to the living facts of the situation.

Neither the authors of the recommendations nor the Conferences which have adopted them, have put them forward as a counsel of perfection. Speaking for myself and my colleagues on the Committee, I can say that there is not one of us who left to himself would have produced the identical report which, acting together we have considered it our duty to make. There are points on which our recommendations run counter to the settled convictions of every one of us, as for instance reservation of seats for minorities. We were, however, compelled to recommend such reservation by the exigencies of the situation.

The one question, therefore, that this Congress has to answer is, whether these recommendations and resolutions taken as a whole are so utterly outrageous, so thoroughly inconsistent, with the real and lasting good of the country that it is its duty to reject them in spite of the consensus of opinion in the country behind them. If they are not this Congress has no option but to accept them.

RECEPTION OF NEHRU REPORT IN THE COUNTRY

It will be observed that the recommendations are divisible under two main heads — general and communal. Both are so inter-related that you cannot accept the one and reject the other. We cannot overlook the Lucknow resolution, whereby all parties agreed that “every one of them will stand by it (the Report) as a whole and will refuse to accept any single part of it without giving full force and effect to all other parts.” There are communal and politico-communal organisations which favour dominion status and have not only joined the communal agreements as parties, but given up what they considered substantial rights for the sake of an agreed constitution. Many hundreds of public meetings have been held throughout the country, attended by people of all shades of opinion, which have approved of the recommendations as a whole. It is impossible to say how many accepted the communal solution because of the draft constitution for dominion status and how many accepted the latter because of the former. We have to keep our faith with all.

The position, as I view it, is this. Here is a constitution agreed upon by the various parties, invited by the Congress to frame

it. These parties know that the goal of the Congress is complete independence. They do not ask the Congress to change its goal, but present to it the result of their labours such as it is, and say that they are prepared to go thus far and no further at present. They offer their co-operation and demand that of the Congress, to enable both to reach the point up to which they are prepared to go. After the point is reached they reserve liberty to themselves and to the Congress to consider the next step. Is the Congress going to refuse them this co-operation and this liberty? Is the Congress after bringing them together going to send them back to the wilderness in isolated groups, each to shift for itself, and leave the Congress to wrangle over the respective merits of complete independence and dominion status to the end of time? If the Congress will do that, it will abdicate its proper function to guide the nation on its forward march. The occasion calls for skilful generalship, and not academic discussions which take us nowhere. The nation is knocking at your door. You must open it wide — wide enough for every one to enter, or lose your rightful place of high command. My advice to you is to accept the offer. If you do so the way to your destination is clear.

Begin at the point at which the All-Parties have now arrived and push forward with them as far as they would go, then pause and take stock of your equipment, and finally throw the strength of your whole being into one great effort to reach the goal.

That is my answer to the question: how can we reach our destination?

The first, and the most obvious step is to set our own house in order. For this purpose, rally all the parties under the banner of the Congress and prepare to march shoulder to shoulder with them to the farthest end of the common road. That will be the first part of the arduous journey. I suggest the following programme for it.

1. Popularising the communal solution, agreed in at the All-Parties Conferences, in the country, by intensive propaganda in the press and on the platform and organising village to village lectures.

2. Organising similar propaganda in regard to the Delhi Unity Conference and the Madras Congress, with such improvements as this Congress might make on communal matters, other than those dealt with by the Conferences.

3. Work among the untouchables and depressed classes.

4. Organisation of labour, agricultural and industrial.

5. Other village organisation.

6. Popularising khaddar and boycott of foreign cloth.

7. Campaign against social customs which retard social intercourse and national growth, more especially a crusade against the purdah and the other disabilities of women.

8. Intensive campaign against the drink and opium curse.

9. Publicity.

It will be observed that this is a predominantly social programme. I claim no originality for any of its items and have merely selected them out of a long list which, with the exception of the first item, has been before the Congress and the country for years past. I may, however, be pardoned when I say that, we have so far not done much worth speaking in carrying out the constructive work. Commonplace as this programme may appear, it is the only true foundation on which the hopes of the high priests of complete independence, as well as those of the votaries of dominion status, can be safely built. To the former I say, that the measure of their capacity, for the tremendous sacrifice that the first real step towards their goal will demand is the measure of their success in carrying out this seemingly unpretentious programme. To the latter I say, that the only chance there is of dominion status being ever offered to them lies in the complete fulfilment of this very programme.

Large sums of money and organised work throughout the country are necessary if we are to set about the business in right earnest. It is not merely the business of any particular organisation or individuals in the country who have the least desire to attain any measure of freedom. Among those who took part in the Convention there were the representatives of all interests in the country — there were the wealthy, the well-to-do, and the poor. Let the wealthy give of their abundance, the well-to-do their savings, and the poor of their pittance. Let the Indian Princes, great and small, come forward with munificent donations, and give practical proof of the great solicitude they profess for the general well-being of their country. In the social part of the programme all can join including Government servants. But will the Government let them? This is the acid test of the honesty of the pious intentions and wishes expressed by British statesmen in England and India. Let the Government, if it honestly means what it professes, publicly declare that the Indian Princes, the Indian commercial and industrial magnates, the great zamindars, and Government servants have full liberty to help the social work in every way possible. Let there be no secret instructions to the contrary in sealed covers or in cipher,

circulated at the same time. Let the English Banks undertake that they will not turn away Indian commercial and industrial concerns from their door if they subscribe to this fund. Let these three things be done, and I shall see that enough money is forthcoming within a very short time for the full fruition of this programme.

But we Congressmen need not depend upon the pious wishes and intentions of the bureaucracy and those who are interested in maintaining it in power. The real work has to be done by Congressmen with the help of the progressive parties in the country.

THE PROGRAMME AND CONGRESSMEN

I shall now examine the various items of the programme in relation to Congressmen.

Items 1 and 2 need no explanation. It will be observed that I have confined these items to the communal part of the recommendations as to which there is and should be no difference of opinion among us. The vital importance of the work is obvious.

As to untouchability, a great deal has been said but very little work has been done. It should, in my opinion, be the duty of every Congressman to help actively in this work to the best of his ability. Untouchability must be abolished altogether, so far as Congressmen are concerned, and no person who refuses to associate with untouchables as his equals should be permitted to belong to any Congress organisation. The All-India Spinners' Association is doing good work in both directions but it needs further support and its work should be supplemented by lectures on sanitation and formation of village and circle committees to promote co-operation among the villages.

No. 6 is the special province of the women of India and I call upon them to offer their services to the Congress.

The campaign against social customs which retard intercourse and national growth is essential for the success of any programme but we have so far paid the least attention to it. The purdah and the other disabilities of women are a curse which we should wipe out without delay. If woman is the better half of man, let us men assist her to do the better part of the work of national uplift. To get rid of purdah and reorganise domestic life no money is wanted, even individuals can and should do their best.

It is impossible to enter into further details in the course of this address and I would suggest that the All-India Congress

Committee be empowered to divide itself into a number of sub-committees, each to be presided over by a member of the Working Committee, and to be in charge of one or more of the above items. The actual work will be done by similar sub-committees of the provincial committees who will look for instructions to the sub-committee of the All-India Congress Committee in charge. All other details will be left to the Working Committee.

This is the general programme for all parties to carry out. It is as necessary from their point of view as that of the Congress, and I have reason to believe that they will give their full support. If we all do this work honestly and intensively the goal should be within sight. But if we are unable to work out this programme to the full measure expected whether we retain the support of the other parties or not, for Congressmen non-violent non-cooperation is an obligation they dare not shirk unless there is a better aggressive programme before the Congress. Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel and Bardoli have shown us that absolutely peaceful direct action is possible and can be made successful. He has shown what patient work among villagers can do. In your name, I tender my congratulations to the Sardar and his brave comrades — men as well as women.

THE OVERSEAS PROBLEM

We may not forget our countrymen overseas. Though the great work done by Mr. V.S. Sastri has eased the situation to a certain extent in South Africa the position requires considerable watching. The problem in Kenya is growing more and more serious and threatens the very existence of the Indian settlers there, who by the way, went there long before any European and enjoyed the happiest relations with the Africans. In Fiji and British Guiana too the pressure of British exploitation is telling upon our countrymen who have gone there as much as upon the native of the soil. But without forgetting them the best aid we can render them is in the words of Sri Pherozesha Mehta, to gain our freedom here.

CONCLUSION

I have only dealt with what I consider to be the real crux of the present situation and in doing so I have tried to discharge what I conceive to be my duty to the country at this juncture. My views may not be acceptable to all, specially to the younger men. I quite appreciate their impatience. We need both patience and impatience. Patience with those who differ from us, impati-

ence with ourselves. I have no quarrel with the ideals of the younger men nor with the practical work they have laid out for themselves. I hold with them that all exploitation must cease and all imperialism must go. But the way to do it is a long and dreary one. They know it and have themselves pointed it out. The work before the young and the old is one and the same. Only the mentality is different. Let the younger men by all means preserve their own mentality, but let them not for the sake of the very Motherland they seek to serve, divide the country into more factions and parties than there are already. To the older men I repeat the same advice. Let them both remember the words of wisdom uttered by Mahatma Gandhi and Deshabandhu Chittaranjan Das I have quoted above. The masses want bread. They have no time to make experiments and no use for theories and dogmas imported from abroad.

I have done. You have been patient with me. My humble services for what they are worth are at your disposal. Let us sink our differences. Let us march forward shoulder to shoulder and victory is ours.

CONGRESS AND LABOUR

The following addition was made by Pandit Motilal Nehru in his address to the Congress in dealing with his programme relating to Labour.

“The Congress has, all along, identified itself with the cause of Labour and Congressmen have uniformly co-operated with the leaders of the Labour movement in India in bringing about an improvement in the economic and social conditions of Labour and in supporting its claim for an equal voice with Capital or other interests in the solution of our political and economic problems. The year that will shortly close has, however, been marked by an acute condition of conflict between Labour and Capital in Bombay and elsewhere and the strikes and lock-outs that have arisen in consequence, as well as the unfortunate disturbances that have ensued, have not helped to secure an early and pacific settlement of the disputes between the employers and the employed. The authorities, who have stepped in on behalf of the employers, have not only raised the Communist bogey as an answer to the hungry labourer who fights for a living wages and for the bare decencies of human living, but have resorted to shooting and violence in putting down strikers, which must fill our hearts with shame and sorrow. The Congress can no longer afford to ignore these deplorable happenings and the

time has arrived when the Congress should actively intervene and take steps to secure the just demands of Labour and take it upon itself to strengthen their organisation as part of the work of national consolidation.”

[As soon as Pandit Motilal completed his address, the audience stood up and were preparing to leave the pandal. All appeals to make them resume their seats in order to dispose of one or two items in the agenda were in vain. Eventually Mr. J.M. Sen Gupta announced that the President has adjourned the sitting till the next day afternoon.]

**A VISIONARY
CONSTITUTIONALIST**

REPORT OF THE NEHRU COMMITTEE

1928

The recommendations of the Report of the 'Motilal Nehru Committee' appointed by the All Parties conference on May 19, 1928 to formulate Constitutional Principles for India. Panditji produced a comprehensive Report within an extremely short time in less than three months and submitted it on 10th August, 1928 which is a great tribute to his vision of constitutionalism.—Editors.

THE RECOMMENDATIONS

We have made no attempt to draft the constitution as a whole, with the precision necessary in the case of a bill intended to be introduced in the legislature. Our recommendations have by their very nature taken a form similar to that of clauses of a draft bill but they are not intended to be treated as such or understood as anything more than an indication of the principles involved, which was all we were called upon to do by our terms of reference. It will be for the Parliamentary draftsmen to put them into shape, add formal and consequential provisions, and such details as we have omitted. It may be mentioned that some of the drafts placed before us provide for transfer orders and orders in Council to give effect to the constitution. These are very important, but more for the draftsmen than for us. On some points we have gone into greater detail than on others. But this is more or less accidental. We have drawn freely on the constitutions of the dominions as well as on Dr. Besant's Commonwealth of India Bill and the drafts prepared by Messrs Vijiaraghavachariar, Srinivasa Iyengar and Rangaswami Iyengar, and the committee of the Independent Labour Party, and also on the Government of India Act, but have found necessary in most cases to make some verbal and at times more important alterations. We have also omitted the preamble and the definitions excepting the definition of "citizen" which was settled by the first committee appointed by the All Parties Conference. We now give these recommendations under suitable headings:

CONSTITUTIONAL STATUS OF INDIA

1. India shall have the same constitutional status in the

comity of nations known as the British Empire, as the Dominion of Canada, the Commonwealth of Australia, the Dominion of New Zealand, the Union of South Africa and the Irish Free State, with a Parliament having powers to make laws for the peace, order and good government of India, and an executive responsible to that Parliament, and shall be styled and known as the Commonwealth of India.

OPERATION OF THE CONSTITUTION AND LAWS

2. This Act and all laws made by the Parliament of the Commonwealth thereunder shall be binding on the courts and people of every province, and of every part of the Commonwealth, notwithstanding anything in the laws of the Indian Legislature or of any province or in any Act of the United Kingdom extending to British India; and the laws of the Commonwealth shall be enforced in all Indian territorial waters.

DEFINITION OF CITIZEN

3. The word "citizen" wherever it occurs in this constitution means every person.

- (a) who was born, or whose father was either born or naturalised, within the territorial limits of the Commonwealth and has not been naturalised as a citizen of any other country;
- (b) who is naturalised in the Commonwealth under the law in force for the time being.

Explanation — No person who is a citizen of a foreign country can be a citizen of the Commonwealth unless he renounces the citizenship of such foreign country in the manner prescribed by law.

FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS

4. (i) All powers of government and all authority, legislative, executive and judicial, are derived from the people and the same shall be exercised in the Commonwealth of India through the organisations established by or under, and in accord with, this constitution.

(ii) No person shall be deprived of his liberty nor shall his dwelling or property be entered, sequestered or confiscated, save in accordance with law.

(iii) Freedom of conscience and the free profession and practice of religion are, subject to public order or morality, hereby guaranteed to every person.

(iv) The right of free expression of opinion, as well as the right to assemble peaceably and without arms, and to form associations or unions, is hereby guaranteed for purposes not opposed to public order or morality.

(v) All citizens in the Commonwealth of India have the right to free elementary education without any distinction of caste or creed in the matter of admission into any educational institution, maintained or aided by the state, and such right shall be enforceable as soon as due arrangements shall have been made by competent authority.

(vi) All citizens are equal before the law and possess equal civic rights.

(vii) There shall be no penal law whether substantive or procedural of a discriminative nature.

(viii) No person shall be punished for any act which was not punishable under the law at the time it was committed.

(ix) No corporal punishment or other punishment involving torture of any kind shall be lawful.

(x) Every citizen shall have the right to a writ of habeas corpus. Such right may be suspended in case of war or rebellion by an Act of the central legislature or, if the legislature is not in session, by the Governor-General in Council, and in such case he shall report the suspension to the legislature at the earliest possible opportunity for such action as it may deem fit.

(xi) There shall be no state religion for the Commonwealth of India or for any province in the Commonwealth, nor shall the state either directly or indirectly endow any religion or give any preference or impose any disability on account of religious belief or religious status.

(xii) No person attending any school, receiving state aid or other public money shall be compelled to attend the religious instruction that may be given in the school.

(xiii) No person shall by reason of his religion, caste or creed be prejudiced in any way in regard to public employment, office of power or honour and the exercise of any trade or calling.

(xiv) All citizens have an equal right of access to, and use of, public roads, public wells and other places of public resort.

(xv) Freedom of combination and association for the maintenance and improvement of labour and economic conditions is guaranteed to everyone and of all occupations. All agreements

and measures tending to restrict or obstruct such freedom are illegal.

(xvi) No breach of contract of service or abetment thereof shall be made a criminal offence.

(xvii) Parliament shall make suitable laws for the maintenance of health and fitness for work of all citizens, securing of a living wage for every worker, the protection of motherhood, welfare of children, and the economic consequences of old age, infirmity and unemployment.

(xviii) Every citizen shall have the right to keep and bear arms in accordance with regulations made in that behalf.

(xix) Men and women shall have equal rights as citizens.

NOTE:—Notwithstanding anything to the contrary in article IV the Sikhs are entitled to carry kripans.

PARLIAMENT

5. The legislative power of the Commonwealth shall be vested in a Parliament which shall consist of the King, a Senate and a House of Representatives herein called the Parliament.

6. The Governor-General shall be appointed by the King and shall have, and may exercise in the Commonwealth, during the King's pleasure, but subject to this constitution, such powers and functions of the King as His Majesty may assign to him.

7. (a) There shall be payable to the King out of the revenues of India for the salary of the Governor-General an annual sum.....which, until the Parliament of the Commonwealth otherwise provides, shall be as in the schedule hereof provided.

(b) The salary of a Governor-General shall not be altered during his continuance in office.

8. The Senate shall consist of 200 members to be elected by the Provincial Councils, a specific number of seats being allotted to each province on the basis of population, subject to a minimum. The election shall be held by the method of proportional representation with the single transferable vote.

(The Hare system).

9. The House of Representatives shall consist of 500 members to be elected by Constituencies determined by law. Every person of either sex who has attained the age of 21, and is not disqualified by law, shall be entitled to vote.

Provided that Parliament shall have the power to increase the number of members from time to time if necessary.

10. (1) Every House of Representatives shall continue for

five years from its first meeting and every Senate shall continue for seven years.

Provided that —

- (a) either chamber of the legislature may be sooner dissolved by the Governor-General; and
- (b) any such period may be extended by the Governor-General if in special circumstances he so thinks fit; and
- (c) after the dissolution of either chamber the Governor-General shall appoint a date not more than six months after the date of dissolution for the next session of that chamber.

(2) The Governor-General may appoint such times and places for holding the sessions of either chamber of the Indian legislature as he thinks fit, and may also from time to time, by notification or otherwise, prorogue such sessions.

(3) Any meeting of either chamber of the Indian legislature may be adjourned by the person presiding.

(4) All questions in either chamber shall be determined by a majority of votes of members present, other than the presiding member, who shall, however, have and exercise a casting vote in the case of an equality of votes.

(5) The powers of either chamber of the Indian legislature may be exercised notwithstanding any vacancy in the chamber.

11. There shall be a president of each House of Parliament who shall be a member of the House and shall be elected by the House. There shall also be a deputy president of each House who shall also be a member of the House and be similarly elected.

12. The privileges, immunities and powers to be held, enjoyed and exercised by the Senate and by the House of Representatives and by the members thereof respectively shall be such as are from time to time defined by Act of Parliament of the Commonwealth.

13. Parliament shall, subject to the provisions of this constitution, have power to make laws

- (a) for the peace, order and good government of the Commonwealth in relation to all matters not coming in the classes of subjects by this Act assigned to the legislatures of provinces;
- (b) for the nationals and servants of the Commonwealth within other parts of India as well as those without and beyond India;

- (c) for the government officers, soldiers, airmen and followers in his Majesty's Indian forces, wherever they are serving, in so far as they are not subject to the Army Act or the Air Force Act; and
- (d) for all persons employed or serving in or belonging to the Royal Indian Marine Service or the Indian Navy.

For greater certainty, but not so as to restrict the generality of the foregoing terms of this section, it is hereby declared that notwithstanding anything in this Act the legislative authority of the Parliament of the Commonwealth extends to all matters coming within the classes of subjects hereinafter enumerated and specified in Schedule I, attached hereto.

14. The powers of Parliament with respect to foreign affairs, not including the Indian States, shall be the same as exercised by the self-governing dominions.

15. Provision may be made by rules under this Act of regulating the course of business and the preservation of order in the chambers of the Indian legislature, and as to the persons to preside at the meetings of the House of Representatives in the absence of the president and the deputy president; and the rules may provide for the number of members required to constitute a quorum, and for prohibiting or regulating the asking of questions on, and the discussion of, any subject specified in the rules.

16. (i) Any bill which appropriates revenue or monies for the ordinary annual services of the Commonwealth government shall deal only with such appropriations.

(ii) Bills imposing taxation shall deal only with the imposition of taxes, and any provision therein dealing with any other matter shall be of no effect.

(iii) Bills affecting the public debt or for the appropriation of revenues or monies or for imposing taxation shall be introduced only by a member of the executive council and can only originate in the House of Representatives.

17. A money bill means a bill which contains only provisions dealing with all or any of the following subjects, namely the imposition, repeal, remission, alteration or regulation of taxation; the imposition for the payment of debt or other financial purposes of charges on public revenues or monies, or the variation or repeal of any such charges; supply, the appropriation, receipt, custody, issue or audit of accounts of public money; the raising of any loan or the repayment thereof; or subordinate

matters incidental to those subjects or any of them. In this definition the expression "taxation", "public money" and "loan" respectively do not include any taxation, money or loan raised by local authorities or bodies for local purposes.

18. The question whether a bill is or is not a money bill will be decided by the president of the House of Representatives.

19. A money bill passed by the House of Representatives shall be sent to the Senate for its recommendations and it shall be returned not later than. . . . days therefrom to the House of Representatives, which may pass it, accepting or rejecting all or any of the recommendations of the Senate; and the bill so passed shall be deemed to have been passed by both chambers.

20. (i) Subject to the provisions of this Act, a bill may be initiated in either House of Parliament and, if passed by the originating House, shall be introduced in the other House for being passed.

(ii) Except as otherwise provided under this Act, a bill shall not be deemed to have been passed by Parliament unless it has been agreed to by both Houses, either without amendments or with such amendments only as may be agreed to by both Houses.

(iii) If any bill which has been passed by the House of Representatives is not, within six months after the passage of the bill by that House, passed by the Senate, either without amendments or with such amendments as may be agreed to by both Houses, the Governor-General shall, on resolution passed by either House to that effect, refer the matter for decision to a joint sitting of both Houses. The members present at any such joint sitting may deliberate and shall vote together upon the bill as last proposed by the House of Representatives and upon amendments if any, which have been made therein by one House of Parliament and not agreed to by the other; and any such amendments which are affirmed by a majority of the total number of members of the Senate and the House of Representatives present at such sitting, shall be taken to have been duly passed by both Houses of Parliament.

21. (i) So soon as any bill shall have been passed, or deemed to have been passed by both Houses, it shall be presented to the Governor-General for the signification by him, in the King's name, of the King's assent, and the Governor-General may signify such assent or withhold the same or he may reserve the bill for the signification of the King's pleasure.

(ii) A bill passed by both Houses of Parliament shall not

become an Act until the Governor-General signifies his assent thereto in the King's name, or in the case of a bill reserved for the signification of the King's pleasure, until he signifies by speech or message to each House of Parliament, or by proclamation that it has received the assent of the King in Council.

Provided that the Governor-General may, where a bill has been passed by both Houses of Parliament and presented to him for the signification by him of the King's assent, or has been reserved by him for the signification of the King's pleasure, return the bill for reconsideration by Parliament with a recommendation that Parliament shall consider amendments thereto.

(iii) Any bill so returned shall be further considered by Parliament together with the amendments, recommended by the Governor-General, and if re-affirmed with or without amendments, may be again presented to the Governor-General for the signification in the King's name of the King's assent.

THE COMMONWEALTH EXECUTIVE

22. The executive power of the Commonwealth is vested in the King and is exercisable by the Governor-General as the King's representative, acting on the advice of the executive council, subject to the provisions of this Act and of the laws of the Commonwealth.

23. (a) There shall be an executive council consisting of the Prime Minister and, until Parliament otherwise provides, not more than six ministers of the Commonwealth.

(b) The Prime Minister shall be appointed by the Governor-General and the Ministers shall also be appointed by him on the advice of the Prime Minister.

(c) The executive council shall be collectively responsible to the legislature for all matters concerning the departments of the Commonwealth administered by members of the executive council.

24. Until Parliament otherwise provides, the appointment and removal of all other officers of the executive government of the Commonwealth shall be vested in the Governor-General in Council, unless the appointment is delegated by the Governor-General in Council, or by a law of the Commonwealth to some other authority.

25. The Command-in-chief of the military, naval and air forces of the Commonwealth is vested in the Governor-General as the King's representative.

HIGH COMMISSIONER AND FOREIGN REPRESENTATIVES

26. The Commonwealth shall have the power to appoint High Commissioners and other foreign representatives similar to that exercised by Canada and other dominions. Such appointment shall be made by the Governor-General in Council who shall also make provision by rules for his pay, powers, duties and conditions of employment.

FINANCIAL CONTROL

27. (1) The Auditor General in India shall be appointed by the Governor-General in Council who shall by rules make provision for his pay, powers, duties and conditions of employment, or for the discharge of his duties in the case of a temporary vacancy or absence from duty.

(2) Subject to any rules made by the Governor-General in Council no office may be added to or withdrawn from the public service and the emoluments of no posts may be varied except after consultation with such finance authority as may be designated in the rules, being an authority of the province or of the Commonwealth according as it is or is not under the control of a local government.

THE PROVINCIAL LEGISLATURE

28. The legislative power of a province shall be vested in the King and the local legislative council.

29. There shall be a Governor of every province who shall be appointed by the King and represent his Majesty in the province.

30. There shall be payable to the King out of the revenues of the province for the salary of the Governor an annual sum of.....which, until Parliament of the Commonwealth otherwise provides shall be as in schedule.....hereof provided.

31. (i) There shall be one member of the Provincial Legislative Council for every 100,000 of the population of the said province, provided that in provinces with a population of less than ten millions there may be a maximum of 100 members.

(ii) Every member shall be elected by a constituency determined by law. Every person of either sex who has attained the age of 21 and is not disqualified by law shall be entitled to vote.

32. (i) Every Provincial Council shall continue for 5 years from its first sitting provided that———

(a) it may be sooner dissolved by the Governor;

- (b) the term of 5 years may be extended by the Governor if in special circumstances he so thinks fit;
- (c) after the dissolution of the Council the Governor shall appoint a date not more than 6 months after the date of the dissolution for the next session of the Council.
- (ii) The Governor may appoint such times and places for holding the sessions of the Council as he thinks fit and may also from time to time, by notification or otherwise, prorogue such sessions.
- (iii) Any meeting of the Council may be adjourned by the person presiding.
- (iv) All questions in the Council shall be determined by the majority of votes of the members present, other than the presiding member, who shall however have and exercise a casting vote in the case of an equality of votes.
- (v) The powers of the Council may be exercised notwithstanding any vacancy.

33. There shall be a president of every Council who shall be a member of the House and shall be elected by the House. There shall also be a deputy president who shall also be a member of the House and be similarly elected.

34. The local legislature of any province has power subject to the provisions of this Act, to make laws for the peace and good government of the territories for the time being constituting that province. The legislative authority of every provincial council extends to all matters coming within the classes of subjects hereinafter enumerated and specified in Schedule II, attached hereto.

35. The local legislature of any province may repeal or alter, as to that province, any law relating to a provincial subject made either before or after the commencement of this Act by any authority in British India.

36. Any measure affecting the public revenues of a province, or imposing any charge on the revenue, shall be introduced only by a member of the executive council of the Governor.

37. When a bill has been passed by a local legislative council, the Governor may declare that he assents to or withholds his assent from the bill.

38. If the Governor withholds his assent from any such bill it shall not become an Act.

39. If the Governor assents to any such bill, he shall forth-

with send an authentic copy of the Act to the Governor-General, and the Act shall not have validity until the Governor-General has assented thereto and that assent has been signified by the Governor-General to, and published by the Governor.

40. Where the Governor-General withholds his assent from any such Act, he shall signify to the Governor in writing his reason for so withholding his assent.

41. When an Act has been assented to by the Governor-General it shall be lawful for his Majesty in Council to signify his disallowance of the Act.

42. Where the disallowance of an Act has been so signified, the Governor shall forthwith notify the disallowance, and thereupon the Act, as from the date of the notification, shall become void accordingly.

THE PROVINCIAL EXECUTIVE

43. The executive power of the province shall be vested in the Governor acting on the advice of the provincial executive council.

44. There shall be an executive council for every province consisting of not more than five ministers appointed by the Governor.

45. In appointing the executive council the Governor shall select the Chief Minister and appoint others only on his advice.

THE JUDICIARY

46. There shall be a Supreme Court which shall exercise such jurisdiction as Parliament shall determine. The Supreme Court shall consist of a Lord President, and so many other Justices, as Parliament may fix.

47. The Lord President of the Commonwealth, and all other Judges of the Supreme Court of the Commonwealth to be appointed after the establishment of the Commonwealth, shall be appointed by the Governor-General in Council, and shall receive such remuneration as Parliament shall prescribe, and their remuneration shall not be diminished during their continuance in office.

48. The Lord President of the Commonwealth and other Judges of the Supreme Court of the Commonwealth shall not be removed from office except by the Governor-General in Council on the address from both Houses of Parliament in the same session praying for such removal on the ground of misbehaviour or incapacity.

49. The Supreme Court shall have original jurisdiction in all matters —

- (i) referred to the Supreme Court by the Governor-General in Council under section 85;**
- (ii) in which the Commonwealth, or person suing or being sued on behalf of the Commonwealth, is a party;**
- (iii) affecting consuls or other representatives of other countries;**
- (iv) between provinces;**
- (v) arising under his constitution or involving its interpretation.**

50. The Supreme Court shall have jurisdiction, with such exceptions and subject to such regulations as Parliament prescribes, to hear and determine appeals from all judgments, decrees, orders and sentences —

- (a) of any Justice or Justices exercising the original jurisdiction of the Supreme Court;**
- (b) of the high court of any province, or of any other court of any province from which at the establishment of the Commonwealth an appeal lies to the King in Council.**

51. The judgment of the Supreme Court in all such cases shall be final and conclusive and shall not be reviewed, or be capable of being reviewed by any other court, tribunal or authority whatsoever.

APPEALS TO THE KING IN COUNCIL

52. (i) No appeal shall be permitted to the King in Council from a decision of the Supreme Court upon any question howsoever arising, as to the limits inter se of the constitutional powers of the Commonwealth and those of any province or provinces, or as to the limits inter se of the constitutional powers of any two or more provinces, unless the Supreme Court shall certify that the question is one which ought to be determined by the King in Council.

(ii) The Supreme Court may so certify if satisfied that for any special reason the certificates should be granted, and thereafter an appeal shall lie to the King in Council on the question without further leave.

(iii) Parliament may make laws limiting the matters in which such leave may be asked, provided that such laws do not impair any right which the King may be pleased to exercise by

virtue of his royal prerogative to grant special leave of appeal from the Supreme Court to the King in Council.

HIGH COURTS — CONSTITUTION

53. The high courts referred to in this Act are the high courts of judicature for the time being established in British India.

54. Each high court shall consist of a chief justice and as many other judges as the Governor-General in Council may think fit to appoint. Provided as follows:

- (i) The Governor General in Council may appoint persons to act as additional judges of any high court, for such period, not exceeding two years, as may be required; and the judges so appointed shall, whilst so acting, have all the powers of a judge of the high court appointed by the Governor-General in Council.
- (ii) the maximum number of judges of a high court including the chief justice and additional judges shall be 20.

55. A judge of a high court must be an advocate on the rolls of a high court of not less than ten years' standing provided that nothing herein contained shall affect the continuance of the tenure of the office of the judges who may be holding appointments at the commencement of this Act.

56. (i) Every judge of a high court shall hold office during his good behaviour.

(ii) Any such judge may resign his office to the local government.

57. The chief justice and other judges of the high court shall not be removed from office except by the Governor-General in Council on an address by the Provincial Legislature.

58. (i) The Governor-General in Council may fix the salaries, allowances, furloughs, retiring pensions, and may alter them, but any such alteration shall not affect the salary of any judge appointed before the date thereof.

(ii) The remuneration fixed for a judge under this section shall commence upon taking upon himself the execution of his office.

59. (i) On the occurrence of a vacancy in the office of chief justice of a high court, and during any absence of such a chief justice the local government shall appoint one of the other judges of the same high court to perform the duties of chief justice of the court, until some person has been appointed by the Governor-General to the office of Chief Justice of the

court, and has entered on the discharge of his duties of that office, or until the chief justice has returned from his absence, as the case requires.

(ii) On the occurrence of a vacancy in the office of any other judge of a high court, and during any absence of any such judge, or on the appointment of any such judge to act as chief justice, the local government may appoint a person, with such qualifications as are required in persons to be appointed to the high court; and the person so appointed may sit and perform the duties of a judge of the court, until some person has been appointed by the Governor-General in Council to the office of judge of the court, and has entered on the discharge of the duties of the office, or until the absent judge has returned from his absence, or until the local government sees cause to cancel the appointment of the acting judge.

JURISDICTION

60. (i) The several high courts are courts of record and have such jurisdiction, original and appellate, including admiralty jurisdiction in respect of offences committed on the high seas, and all such powers and authority over or in relation to the administration of justice, including power to appoint clerks and other ministerial officers of the court, and power to make rules for regulating the practice of the court as are vested in them by letters patent, and subject to the provisions of any such letters patent, all such jurisdiction, powers and authority as are vested in those courts respectively at the commencement of this Act.

(ii) The letters patent establishing, or vesting jurisdiction, powers or authority, in a high court may be amended from time to time by a further letters patent.

61. Each of the high courts has superintendence over all courts for the time being subject to its appellate jurisdiction, and may do any of the following things, that is to say —

- (a) call for returns;
- (b) direct the transfer of any suit or appeal from any such court to any other court of equal or superior jurisdiction;
- (c) make and issue general rules and prescribe forms for regulating the practice and proceedings of such courts;
- (d) prescribe forms in which books, entries and accounts shall be kept by the officers of any such courts; and

(e) settle tables of fees to be allowed to the sherif, attorneys, and all clerks and officers of the courts;

Provided that such rules, forms and tables shall not be inconsistent with the provisions of any law for the time being in force, and shall require the previous approval of the local government.

62. (i) Each high court may, by its own rules, provide as it thinks fit for the exercise, by one or more judges of the high court of the original and appellate jurisdiction vested in the court.

(ii) The chief justice of each high court shall determine what judge in each case is to sit alone, and what judges of the court, whether with or without the chief judge, are to constitute the several division courts.

63. The Governor-General in Council may, by order, transfer any territory or place from the jurisdiction of one to the jurisdiction of any other of the high courts, and authorise any high court to exercise all or any portion of its jurisdiction in any part of British India not included within the limits for which the high court was established, and also to exercise any such jurisdiction in respect of any British subject for the time being within any part of India outside the Commonwealth.

64. (a) The Governor-General, each Governor, each of the members of the executive council, whether in the Commonwealth or in the provinces, shall not be subject to the original, appellate or revisional jurisdiction of any high court, by reason of anything counselled, ordered or done, by any of them, in his public capacity only.

(b) The exemption shall extend also to the chief justices and other judges of the several high courts.

65. The Governor-General in Council may, if he sees fit, by letters patent, establish a high court of judicature in any territory in the Commonwealth, whether or not included within the limits of the local jurisdiction of another high court, and confer on any high court so established, any such jurisdiction, powers and authority as are vested in, or may be conferred on, any high court existing at the commencement of this Act; and, where a high court is so established in any area included within the limits of the local jurisdiction of another high court, the Governor-General may, by letters patent, alter those limits, and make such incidental, consequential and supplemental provisions as may appear to be necessary by reason of the alteration.

ADVOCATE GENERAL

66. The local government may appoint an advocate general for each of the provinces and may, on the occurrence of a vacancy in the office of advocate general, or during any absence or deputation of an advocate general, appoint a person to act as advocate general; and the person so appointed may exercise the powers of an advocate general until some person has been appointed by the Governor-General in Council and has entered on the discharge of his duties or until the advocate general has returned from his absence or deputation, as the case may be, or until the local government cancels the local appointment.

PROPERTY, REVENUE AND FINANCE

67. All property vested in, or arising or accruing from property or rights vested in, his Majesty or the Secretary of State in Council under the Government of India Act, 1858, 1915 and 1919 shall vest in the Governor-General in Council.

68. The revenues of India shall vest in the Governor-General in Council and shall, subject to the provisions of this Act, be applied for the purposes of the Commonwealth alone.

69. The expression "the revenues of India" in this Act shall include all the territorial and other revenues of or arising in British India, and in particular —

- (i) all tributes and other payments in respect of any territories which would have been receivable by or in the name of the East India Company if the Government of India Act, 1858, had not been passed; and
- (ii) all fines and penalties incurred by the sentence or order of any court of justice in British India, and all forfeitures for crimes of any movable or immovable property in British India; and
- (iii) all movable or immovable property in British India escheating or lapsing for want of an heir or successor and all property in British India devolving as bona vacantia for want of a rightful owner.

70. Parliament shall establish a Railway and Harbour Fund into which shall be paid all revenues raised or received by the Governor-General in Council from the administration of railways, posts and harbours, and such fund shall be appropriated by Parliament to the purposes of railways, posts and harbours on such conditions and in such manner as it may prescribe. There shall also be formed a consolidated revenue fund into

which shall be paid all other revenues raised or received by the Governor-General in Council and such fund shall be appropriated by Parliament for the purpose of the Commonwealth in the manner prescribed by this Act or by rules made in that behalf and subject to the charges imposed thereby.

71. There shall be charged on the revenues of India alone —

- (a) all the debts of the East India Company; and
- (b) all sums of money, costs, charges and expenses which, if the Government of India Act, 1858, the Government of India Act 1915, as amended by the Government of India Act 1919 or this Act had not been passed, would have been paid by the East India Company out of the revenues of India in respect of any treaties, covenants, contract, grants or liabilities existing at the commencement of this Act; and
- (c) all expenses, debts and liabilities lawfully contracted and incurred on account of the Government of India; and
- (d) all other charges and payments under this Act (except so far as is otherwise provided under this Act).

72. (i) As soon as may be after the establishment of the Commonwealth the Governor-General in Council shall appoint a Commission consisting of one representative from each province and representatives of the government of the Commonwealth, and presided over by an officer of the Commonwealth, to institute an enquiry into (a) the sources of revenue which may be assigned to the government of the commonwealth and to the governments of the provinces respectively with due regard to the efficient administration and development of the services or subjects under the respective control of either, and (b) the financial relations which should exist between the government of the Commonwealth and the governments of the provinces, and (c) for the means to be adopted for giving effect to such relations.

(ii) The said Commission shall appoint a committee to examine the whole question of the training of officers for the land, naval and air forces of the Commonwealth and the establishment of the requisite number of schools and colleges for military instructions.

(iii) The Committee so appointed shall report to the Commission about the requisite number of such schools and colleges

and their staff, the places where they are to be established, and the standard of instruction to be imparted in each, and an estimate of the initial and maintenance cost of the said schools and colleges.

(iv) The said Commission shall also appoint a committee to investigate and report on the steps to be taken for the introduction of general primary education in the Commonwealth and the affording of special educational facilities for backward classes.

(v) The said Commission shall have the power to appoint such other committees as it may consider necessary, for the purposes of its inquiry.

(vi) The said Commission shall report to the Governor-General in Council on matters recommended in clause I, and shall make special recommendations fixing minimum charges on the revenues of the Commonwealth and the provinces for the purposes mentioned in 2, 3 and 4.

73. The Governor-General in Council shall lay the entire report of the Commission together with his recommendations before Parliament for such legislative or other action as it may deem fit.

74. Pending the completion of the said enquiry, and until Parliament has taken action under clause 68, the existing sources of revenue and the financial relations shall continue to be in force.

DEFENCE

75. (a) The Governor-General in Council shall appoint a Committee of Defence consisting of (1) the Prime Minister, (2) the Minister of Defence, (3) the Minister of Foreign Affairs, (4) the Commander-in-Chief, (5) the Commander of the Air Force; (6) the Commander of the Naval Forces, (7) the Chief of the General Staff, and two other experts.

(b) The Prime Minister shall be the chairman of the committee; and there shall be a permanent staff including a secretary attached to this committee.

(c) The functions of this committee shall be to advise the government and the various departments concerned with questions of defence and upon general questions of policy.

(d) As soon as the committee is appointed the Governor-General in Council may take the advice of the Committee of Defence as to the practicability and means of effecting a retrenchment in the expenditure on defence compatibly with the safety

of India. The estimates shall be framed according to the recommendations of the Committee.

76. The proposals of the Governor-General in Council for the appropriation of revenues of monies classified as "Defence", shall be submitted to the vote of the House of the Representatives.

77. Notwithstanding anything to the contrary in the foregoing provisions, the Governor-General in Council may, in the event of any foreign aggression on India by land, air or sea, or upon his being satisfied that there is a reasonable apprehension of such aggression, authorise such expenditure as may be necessary for the safety of British India or any part thereof. Such action taken by the Governor-General shall be reported by him immediately to the legislature, if in session, or if the legislature is not in session, to a special session to be summoned as soon as possible thereafter.

78. No measure affecting the discipline or maintenance of any part of the military, naval and air forces of the Commonwealth shall be introduced in Parliament except on the recommendation of the Committee of Defence appointed under this constitution.

THE CIVIL SERVICES

79. Subject to the provisions of the next succeeding section, all officers of the public services shall, at the establishment of the Commonwealth, become officers of the Commonwealth.

80. As soon as possible after the establishment of the Commonwealth, the Governor-General in Council shall appoint a Public Service Commission to make recommendations for such reorganisation and readjustment of the departments of the public services as may be necessary.

81. Parliament may make laws for regulating the classification of the civil services in India, the sources and methods of their recruitment, their conditions of service, pay and allowances, and discipline and conduct. Parliament may also, to such extent and in respect of such matters as it may prescribe, delegate the power of making rules under the said laws to the Governor-General in Council or to local governments.

82. (i) After the establishment of the Commonwealth the Governor-General in Council shall appoint a permanent Public Service Commission with such powers and duties relating to the recruitment, appointment, discipline, retirement and superannuation of public officers as Parliament shall determine.

(ii) Members of the permanent Public Service Commission shall hold office for five years from the date of appointment.

83. Any officer of the public services who desires to retire within three years of the establishment of the Commonwealth, or is not retained in the service of the Commonwealth, shall be entitled to receive such pension, gratuity or other compensation as he would have received in like circumstances if the Commonwealth had not been established.

THE ARMY SERVICES

84. All officers, British and Indian, serving in the army, the navy, the Royal Indian Marine, or the Air Force of India, serving in India at the commencement of the new constitution, shall retain all their existing rights as to salaries, allowances or pensions or shall receive such compensation for the loss of any of them, as the Governor-General in Council may consider just and equitable, or as they would have received in like circumstances if the Commonwealth had not been established.

Further all such officers, British or Indian, who were in receipt of pensions at the date of the commencement of the new constitution, shall continue to receive the same pension from the revenues of India.

INDIAN STATES

85. The Commonwealth shall exercise the same rights in relation to, and discharge the same obligations towards, the Indian States, arising out of treaties or otherwise, as the Government of India has hitherto exercised and discharged.

In case of any difference between the Commonwealth and any Indian State on any matter arising out of treaties, engagements, sanads or similar other documents, the Governor-General in Council, may with the consent of the State concerned, refer the said matter to the Supreme Court for its decision.

NEW PROVINCES

86. The redistribution of provinces should take place on a linguistic basis on the demand of the majority of the population of the area concerned, subject to financial and administrative considerations.

AMENDMENT OF THE CONSTITUTION

87. Parliament may, by law, repeal or alter any of the provisions of the constitution. Provided that the bill embodying

such repeal or alteration shall be passed by both Houses of Parliament sitting together and at the third reading shall be agreed to by not less than two-thirds of the total number of the members of both Houses. A bill so passed at such a joint sitting shall be taken to have been duly passed by both Houses of Parliament.

Note:—The following are the recommendations on Communal and other controversial matters.

COMMUNAL REPRESENTATION

I. There shall be joint mixed electorates throughout India for the House of Representative and the provincial legislatures.

II. There shall be no reservation of seats for the House of Representatives except for Muslims in provinces where they are in a minority and non-Muslims in the N.W.F. Province. Such reservation will be in strict proportion to the Muslim population in every province where they are in a minority and in proportion to the non-Muslim population in N.W.F. Province. The Muslims or non-Muslims where reservation is allowed to them shall have the right to contest additional seats.

III. In the provinces

(a) there shall be no reservation of seats for any community in the Punjab and Bengal;

(b) in provinces other than the Punjab and Bengal there will be reservation of seats for Muslim minorities on population basis with the right to contest additional seats.

(c) in the N.W.F. Province there shall be similar reservation of seats for non-Muslims with the right to contest other seats.

IV. Reservation of seats where allowed shall be for a fixed period of ten years.

REDISTRIBUTION AND STATUS OF PROVINCES

V. Sind should be separated from Bombay and constitute into a separate province after such enquiry about the financial position as may be considered necessary.

VI. Parts of Karnataka, except the small islands on the other sides of the Mysore territory, should similarly be separated

from the provinces in which they are at present included and formed into a single separate province.

VII. The N.W.F. Province, and all newly formed provinces by separation from other provinces, shall have the same form of government as the other provinces in India.

MOTILAL NEHRU

ALI IMAM

TEJ BAHADUR SAPRU

M.S. ANEY

MANGAL SINGH

SHUAIB QURESHI*

SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE

G.R. PRADHAN

* Mr. Shuaib Qureshi was unfortunately unable to be present at the last meeting of the Committee when the draft report was considered. The draft however was sent to him and he has informed us that in regard to the recommendations contained in chapter III he is of opinion that one third seats in the central legislature should be reserved for Muslims. Further, he says: "I agree with the resolution adopted at the informal conference of July 7th but do not subscribe to all the figures and arguments produced in its support".

Shri Ali Imam, Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose and Mr. G.R. Pradhan were also unable to be present at the final meeting of the Committee but they signified their concurrence with the report after reading the draft.

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THOUGHTS

CLARIFICATION OF THE LAW

Sir, the matter has been thoroughly threshed out in the speeches already delivered and I see the Honourable the Home Member is in a hurry to reply. I will, therefore, not be long. One or two points I specially wish to mention. The Honourable the Law Member has in fact conceded the whole argument advanced on this side of the House. He said that there may sometimes be cases where, if no revision is allowed, the object of the amendment may be defeated: instead of expediting the business of the court long delays might occur and the trial might have to be begun afresh. But he says more often the trial is delayed by the application for revision has been wrongly admitted. I think — and in this I agree with my friend Mr. Jinnah — that the admission or rejection of an application for revision may well be left to the High Court which has to deal with it. It is for the court to decide whether a *prima facie* case has been made out which calls for the exercise of the special revisional jurisdiction vested in it by law. I also bear out my friend Mr. Jinnah about the actual practice. So far as the practice goes in the Allahabad High Court, Judges are more inclined to refuse a rule than to grant it unless of course they see no other course is open. Besides the cases that have been mentioned, there are certain other classes of cases in which no appeal is given by the law. I am talking of cases which arise not under the Code of Civil Procedure but under various other Acts, for instance, the Succession Act, the Guardian and Wards Act, Religious Endowments Act. All the orders passed under these Acts are not appealable. But many important orders, having far-reaching effect, can be passed and are passed daily under those and other Acts and if they are not to be dealt with under

the revisional jurisdiction of the High Court, there is absolutely no remedy for the aggrieved party. There was a case where a Court refused to confirm a sale under Section 312 of the Code believing that it had no power to do so, after the purchaser objected to the sale on the ground of misrepresentation. It was held by their Lordships of the Privy Council that the case was one in which the Court had failed to exercise jurisdiction vested in it by law and the decision was therefore subject to revision under the present section. Now, if this amendment is carried, the case would not be covered by the section as it is now proposed to be altered by the amendment, because a refusal to exercise jurisdiction in regard to orders is expressly excluded. Now, Sir, that is a very important matter and the illustration tends to show the necessity of the application of the rule to all interlocutory orders where of course they satisfy one of the three conditions, viz., where a jurisdiction not vested in the court has been exercised or where the court has failed to exercise jurisdiction so vested or where illegality or material irregularity has been committed. There is absolutely no reason why one class of cases should be judged by one standard, and another and far more important class should be treated differently. The House will bear in mind that there are very few decrees that are not open to appeal and those few decrees that are not open to appeal are comparatively of less importance than the many very important orders that are asked for day after day in courts, involving very large amounts of money and sometimes very important rights. If there is any reason to enlarge the jurisdiction in any class of cases, I submit it is in the class of cases which comes under orders final or interlocutory. As I have submitted, there are many final orders, under the various Acts which I have referred to, which are not appealable and there is no remedy at all. If we take away that remedy now, there will be no provision at all in the law to carry them to the High Court. The whole argument, Sir, is based upon the law's delays. Now I can assure the House that so far as the Allahabad High Court is concerned, there need absolutely be no fear of that, because only last week no less than 45 first appeals were dismissed by one bench in one day. As for cases of revision, they sometimes take two minutes each. What I submit is that the jurisdiction itself is more or less discretionary and you cannot lay a case before any High Court in which the High Court will feel itself by the terms of the law compelled to take action. It has to go further and see whether any injustice would be done by not

taking action. In the case of interlocutory orders, I know that applications have been refused time after time on the ground that the matter will be considered when the case comes up on appeal from the final decree. There is no reason, therefore, why this innovation should be introduced into the law, and I agree with Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar that instead of clarifying the law it simply mystifies it.

*From: Legislative Assembly Debates, Vol. I. (1927)
pp. 422-423.*

HINDU-MUSLIM UNITY

While I fully admit the importance you give to Hindu-Muslim unity I am sorry to say that I find myself in disagreement with you both as to the reasons why we have so far failed to achieve it and the direction in which further effort should be made. Both you and I have for years past been working as hard as we could to lay a solid foundation for this unity. But it has to be confessed that we have failed miserably. As a result of past experience and anxious thought I have now reached the conclusion that the lines upon which we worked were fundamentally wrong. This truth did flash upon our minds from time to time while we worked together and we tried to retrace our steps as in Lahore when we called a meeting of the Mohalla Chowdharies but we found ourselves in a vicious circle impossible to get out of at that stage. The fact is that we have been appealing to the wrong court all these years. We may go on doing so to the end of eternity but will get no relief. If the cold reception of an individual however great in one place is to affect the solution of the great national problem we had better say goodbye to it. I have little to say about the cold reception I gave to Mr. Jinnah. What Mr. Jinnah said left me cold and I could not work up an artificial warmth to please him.

It is difficult to do more than indicate my plans in this letter. It is now my firm conviction that Hindu-Muslim Unity cannot be achieved by preaching it. We have to bring it about in a manner which will accomplish it without either Hindus or Muslims realising that they are working for unity. This can only be done on an economic basis and in the course of the fight for freedom from the usurper. When one community is fighting for the right to live which is common to both it is

impossible to conceive that the other community will not sooner or later realise the consequences of success or failure. And having realised those consequences it is equally impossible to conceive that it will not throw itself wholeheartedly into the conflict. The master mind has amidst much ridicule and misrepresentation discovered one such economic basis in the breaking of the salt laws. The thing, to use his own favourite phrase, is 'incredibly simple'. The only wonder is that no one else ever thought of it. It is impossible to say at this stage whether even so simple a thing will catch the imagination of the people but if it does, a tremendous victory is assured to both Hindus and Mussalmans. If it does not there is no hope for us and it is idle to talk of Hindu-Muslim unity and constitutional and communal rights.

(An extract from a letter to Dr. M.A. Ansari dated 7-2-1930).

ON ELECTIONS

Pt. Motilal Nehru's Main Resolution in the meeting of the All India Congress Committee held at Calcutta in November, 1922.

Whereas the working of the Legislative Councils during their first term, has, besides proving a serious impediment to the redress of the Khilafat and the Punjab wrongs and the speedy attainment of Swaraj, caused a great misery and hardship to the people, and whereas it is desirable that steps should be taken in strict accordance with the principle of non-violent non-cooperation to avoid recurrence of the evil.

It is resolved, with reference to the Report of the Civil Disobedience Inquiry Committee, that this All India Congress Committee do recommend to the Indian National Congress that non-cooperators should contest the ensuing elections on the issue of the redress of the Punjab and Khilafat wrongs and immediate Swaraj, and make every endeavour to be returned in a majority. It is further recommended that, in view of the new councils assembling early in January 1924, the Congress Session of 1923 be held during the first instead of the last week of December and the matter be again brought up for such final mandate by the Congress as it may, under the circumstances, deem fit to issue.

A WASHERMAN AT HOME

"Budhu, thou art good and mild,
Ugly as thy donkey wild;
Thou was't made for usefulness,
Washing muslin, silk and dress,
Pity 'tis thou dost not bleach
Thy ugly face on Jumna's beach
Though, star of thy profession high,
Who never dost thy clothing buy;
For all the people, high and low,
Give thee their clothes and quietly go;
How pleasant 'tis when thou dost sit
Arrayed in silk on the dirty pit;
In heap the dresses round thee lie,
Thy washing kit is also by;
There's the soap that washes white
All but thee, O' ugly sight;
As on the pit thou smiling sitst,
Thy better half admires thy wits."

*

THE POET IN MAN

Let me die, if die I must, in the lap of a free India. Let
me sleep my last sleep not in a subject country, but in a free one.

*

Our highest ambition is the ambition to be buried in the
foundations of a free India, and then sink into obscurity, to
be thought of no more.

*

Whatever the ultimate goal, we must be prepared to
traverse the thorny path to reach it. If we are not prepared to
do so, Independence will ever be an idle dream, and Dominion
Status an ever receding will-O'-the-wisp.

*

For me life would not be worth living if every word one
utters has always to be weighed in stoic scales.

*

We seek no retaliation or retributive justice; what we seek is redress, — redress for our wrongs which have been many and cruel.

*

The ambition to work for the independence of one's country and to die for it cannot be thwarted by any human agency.

*

However much we may be enfeebled in body, our soul, tormented as it is, has never been and will never be killed.

*

Promises unaccompanied by action will not satisfy anybody and as long as the matter remains within the range of promises, it is the duty of every Indian not to signify his assent.

*

AIM OF EDUCATION

The aim of all education and progress is to develop the collective instinct in man; to teach him to co-operate with his neighbour and to make him feel that his individual good depends on the good of society as a whole. Only thus can the selfish and individualistic instincts be suppressed and the energy of mankind diverted from mutual competitions to co-operation for the common welfare.

*

MY COUNTRY

My religion is my country, and I am prepared to serve it honestly and truthfully with all my heart and soul through thick and thin according to my own lights, unaffected by all the religious dogmas in the world.

*

ON RELIGION

It (religion) has in our day-to-day life come to signify bigotry and fanaticism, intolerance and narrow-mindedness, selfishness and the negation of many of the qualities which go to build a healthy society.

*

IN THE STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM

If the offer is honourable to those who make it as well as to those who accept it, it does not matter to me who is the proposer and who the acceptor .

*

If our lives and honour are to remain at the mercy of an irresponsible executive and if the ordinary rights of human beings are denied to us, then all talk of reform is a mockery.

:

National freedom unrestricted and unqualified is the natural craving of the human soul.

*

We want freedom of thought, freedom of action, freedom to fashion our own destiny, and build up an India, suited to the genius of her own people. We do not want to make India a slavish imitation of the West.

*

It is the duty of every man to help as far as lies in his power to make his country fit to live in.

*

We are all peaceful revolutionaries. We wish to organise ourselves to disobey your unjust laws and make it impossible for you to govern the country by those laws. We may or may not succeed — it may be an idle dream, very difficult to realise—but that is the only thing left to us.

*

Let us work for Swaraj by whatever name we might call it. Let us work for our country's freedom by whatever phraseology we might denote it. Let your ideal be Independence or Dominion Status, the method of attaining one or the other is the same.

*

So many empires have gone down for having ignored the people's will; and now the British Empire is ignoring India's will and I say that the day of reckoning is not very far.

*

There is no terrible meaning in the word "Revolution" other than what is found in an ordinary dictionary. It is after all a very simple word. We are all peaceful revolutionaries. We want revolution, but not revolution accompanied by violence. Time without number we have said that we want a bloodless revolution.

*

Satyagraha is a new force introduced in our politics, a force with tremendous potentialities. Its essential qualities as I conceive them, are truth, fearlessness and non-violence. We shall not be free or deserve freedom unless we have these qualities in ample measure.

*

Hartal in India is a spiritual weapon, the time-old method of showing sorrow, of having grievances redressed by patient suffering. It is not used as a threat nor as a weapon against the forces of law and order.

*

The struggle for freedom once begun must sooner or later have its appointed end, and that end is no other than the achievement of the fullest freedom.

*

It is the right of every man to refuse to obey any law which goes against his conscience and to suffer the consequences of such disobedience. This is specially so when the laws are passed against the will of the people.

*

Violence cannot avail us. Even if it brought us victory, it would be a victory which would degrade and coarsen us and make us less fit to enjoy the freedom we had so won.

*

The occasion demands skilful generalship and no academic discussions.... The nation is knocking at your door. You must open it wide — wide enough for every one to enter.

*

If you wish to use the weapon (of non-cooperation) effectively abide by the instructions of him who is both the inventor of the weapon and the leader of the men who are armed with it. Under the able generalship of Mahatma Gandhi and with God and Truth on your side you are bound to win whatever the strength of the opposing force may be.

∴

When we talk of the severance of the British connection, we do not mean a cessation of all relations, but such appropriate change in existing relations, as is necessary to transform a dependency into a Free State.

∴

Our goal is straight and simple — freedom in substance and not merely in form — by whatever name you call it. National freedom unrestricted and unqualified is the natural craving of the human soul. I do not believe that there is a single Indian, who does not love freedom or will not have it.

*

The masses want bread. They have no time to make experiments, and have no use for theories and dogmas imported from abroad.

*

We have come here to offer our cooperation, if you will care to cooperate with us. If you agree to have it, we are your men. If not, we shall, like men, stand upon our rights and continue to be non-cooperators.

*

There is a deep-seated desire for Swaraj in the country which proceeds from the natural craving of the human heart for freedom. This natural instinct is all that entitles a nation, that is all that has ever entitled a nation to complete self-government and complete responsibility.

*

ON GOVERNMENT

As for the duty of the Government to govern, I fully agree. But there is the duty of the governed, that is, to secure

just government for themselves on principles fully recognised all over the world and to spare no sacrifice, no suffering, however great, to achieve that end.

*

TO THE BRITISH IN INDIA

Governments which have not paid attention to the lessons of history have invariably come to grief, to an ignominious end, and what has not been accomplished by destiny and the people of India will add one more to the long list of fallen Empires.

•

IN THE SERVICE OF THE NATION

I hope you will give me the credit for fully realising what it means to me and mine to throw in my lot with Gandhiji in the coming struggle. Nothing but a deep conviction that the time for the greatest effort and the greatest sacrifice has come would have induced me to expose myself at my age and with my physical disabilities and with my family obligations to the tremendous risks I am incurring. I hear the clarion call of the country and I obey.

TRIBUTES

BY EMINENT MEN

GANDHIJI:

Commenting on his death Gandhiji said:

“Pandit Motilal’s death means to me more even than to the brave widow whose sorrow it is my privilege during these days to share. I take the blow as an additional test of my faith in God’s greatness and goodness. Panditji has died a true warrior’s death. It is therefore well with him. He lives more amply and more truly by dying. I pray to God that he may endow me with greater consecration to the service of the cause for which alone life is worth living in these days of purification through sacrifice and suffering”.

After the funeral ceremony was over at Triveni at 6-30 p.m. on 6-2-31 Gandhiji, referring to the services of Pandit Motilal to the country, said:

“Let every man and woman vow here before the last remains of our great hero on the banks of the Jamuna and the Ganges that he or she will not take rest till the freedom of India is achieved, because this was the cause dear to the heart of Motilalji. It was this for which he gave his life.”

PANDIT MALAVIYA:

It is a national calamity that he has been removed from our midst at a time when the country stood most in need of courageous and able guidance. . . A great son of the motherland. India has reason to be proud of him. There will be great sorrow felt over the length and breadth of the country, such as has been felt seldom before.

RABINDRANATH TAGORE:

Let the great sorrow of India for the death of her noble son find great fulfilment in her life.

DR. RAJENDRA PRASAD:

Till the last moment he sacrificed his all for the service of his country. . . He dedicated himself, his wealth and, what is more, his precious jewel — Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru — to the service of the nation.

SARDAR VALLABHBHAI PATEL:

The nation can never forget his unequalled record of service and sacrifice in the cause of National freedom. His absence specially at the present juncture, is an irreparable loss to India.

RAJAGOPALACHARI:

We are in the midst of one of the greatest moral victories of this age, but to humble us in our pride God has sent us a blow of the greatest magnitude. Perhaps if we were asked to dispense with one of our Leaders, we would willingly have chosen one, but we could not dispense with Motilalji. He was the grandest of men. . . a King among us.

PURUSHOTTAM DAS TANDON:

I warned him. . . but Pt. Motilal told me that he could not spare himself and was prepared to die in jail. There is no doubt that the strain of conducting the movement hastened his death. His was a deliberate sacrifice in the service of the motherland.

DR. K.N. KATJU:

Our loss is irreparable. Only very few of us realize what enormous influence he wielded in the Congress circles. . . As a lawyer he was unsurpassed and his persuasive forensic eloquence will long be remembered.

T.L. VASWANI:

With love and humility in my heart, I bow to this immortal patriot of India, this martyr to liberty. Pandit Motilal is not dead. . . In history burns brightly but one flame. It never is extinguished, but burns brighter and brighter through the centuries, the flame immortal, the flame of sacrifice. Pandit Motilal's life was an offering to this eternal flame! Homage to him! He belongs now to eternity! He has joined the ranks of the blessed martyrs of humanity.

M.A. JINNAH:

Pandit Motilal Nehru was one of the greatest figures in the political life of India. Although a Constitutionalist at heart he was driven into channels of extremism by the policy of the British Government since 1924. There were many people who felt as he; and his life showed that unless British policy avoided delay and impressed upon the people its sincerity, there would be no peace in India.

MANU SUBEDAR:

In Pandit Motilal Nehru India has lost not only one of her greatest sons but her unofficial Prime Minister. . .He was great, as a lawyer, as a statesman and patriot, but more so as a man. For every one who came in contact with him acknowledged his inimitable superiority.

SIR PURUSHOTTAMDAS THAKURDAS:

Panditji's able work in the Assembly would remain a monument even after India had attained Swaraj and had a regular parliamentary system of government. Panditji was a clean fighter who never hit below the belt and for this even his opponents admired him.

HUSSAINBHAOY LALJI (President of the Bombay Municipal Corporation):

Pandit Motilal Nehru was a veritable king among men and his leadership was supreme in its strength. He was a man of courage, daring, faithfulness and loyalty. A bright star in the Indian firmament has disappeared.

ASAF ALI:

The unique personality who had tended the tree of liberty with his blood had not been allowed to taste the fruit of that tree. . .He has left a gap in the political life of India which it would not be possible to fill. . .

SIR GEORGE RAINY IN THE CENTRAL ASSEMBLY:

"Of his policy and achievements this is not the day to speak. So far as he is concerned, the chapter is closed and records sealed up to await the judgment of historians; but that he will fill a large space in the historians' pages, none of us can doubt. However, the value of his work may be assessed, no one will

question his whole-hearted devotion to the interests of India as he conceived them or impute to him any motive other than an unsparing desire to serve his country. There are many in this House who speak of Pandit Motilal Nehru from a greater degree of intimacy than I could claim. He had a personality which impressed itself on the most unobservant. Eminent as a lawyer, eminent as a speaker and in the first rank as a political leader, he could not but take the foremost place wherever he might be, whether within these walls or outside them. The quickness of his intellect, his skill in debate, his adroitness as a tactician and his strength of purpose rendered him a formidable adversary in controversy. These are qualities which lent distinction to his character in private life as well as in politics, and it is these I myself often recall. An endearing courtesy, a ready sense of humour, a freedom from malice and bitterness and a wide and deep culture, rendered him unrivalled as a host and the most charming of companions. We shall not again see in this House his well-remembered figure. But we shall often recall that exquisite fitness of attire which aptly symbolised the clean fighter and the great gentleman; that impressive face deeply lined and care-worn on which character and intellect was so deeply imprinted."

THE CHIEF JUSTICE OF ALLAHABAD:

When I came here 12 years ago, and was beginning to learn the names and positions of the various members of the Bar I was struck by the respect and pride with which all his colleagues at the Bar spoke of Pandit Motilal Nehru. When I had the pleasure of meeting him I understood the reasons for the affection with which he was regarded. It was his goodness of heart. He had a profusion of gifts; knowledge came easily to him and as an advocate he had the art of presenting his case in its most attractive form. Every fact fell into proper place. He had an exquisite public speaking voice and a charm of manner which made it a pleasure to listen to him. Many of you will remember his masterly handling of the Etawah case in which he appeared for the Rani Kishori. No man at any Bar in the world could have done that case better than Pandit Motilal.

MR. IQBAL AHMED (on behalf of the Advocates Association, Allahabad):

My lords, it was my privilege to work as a junior to Pandit Motilal and I can say without the least fear of contradiction that

he stood on a footing of his own and occupied a unique position in your lordships' court. A lawyer of the keenest intellect, a brilliant advocate, a consummate cross-examiner who was equally at home both in original and appellate work, it was a pleasure to hear him argue a difficult case either on facts or on law. My lords, I can say without exaggeration that I have not come across during my experience a greater advocate or a more brilliant lawyer. Truly he was one of the giants of the profession. People like him raise the status and the dignity of the profession.

My lords, he has died full of years and full of honours. But his death will be mourned by all who admire greatness in men and goodness of heart. The world is the poorer today than it was yesterday in culture, in refinement, in ability and in learning.

Courtesy—Allahabad Law Journal vol. 29 (1931).

A LEADER OF THE BAR

The great doyen of the Bar, when I joined here, was Pt. Moti Lal Nehru. What shall I tell you about him? Not only was he a leader of the Bar in India, but he by his devoted patriotism and service of the country became a great figure in India, and became one of the Presidents of the Indian National Congress. He started practice somewhere in the nineties and was at the zenith of his practice at the Bar when I joined here in 1914. But later, may I put it this way, he came under the influence of his son, Jawaharlal Nehru, the world-famous figure, whom we look upon still though he is now gone, as one of our greatest builders, one of the greatest architects of India. He started practice here, in this Court building. He started in the old High Court, but he worked here also for almost four years and then the great massacre of Jallianwala Bagh took him away from the Bar. Then Gandhiji came and Moti Lal also came under his influence and so he also retired from practice for about 7 or 8 years. The last case that he argued, I remember well, all the lawyers here will remember, possibly my honoured friend the Chief Justice of U.P. might also remember, was the Lakhna Case of the Etawah District. That was the last case that he argued in 1923 and then he retired, for 7 or 8 years. Instead of going to Court he went to prison. Thereafter Jawaharlal Nehru also started going to prison. From 1928-29 Pt. Moti Lal came back

as his clients dragged him back to the Bar in some cases, but he passed away in 1931.

Excerpts from the speech of Dr. K.N. Katju delivered on November 27, 1966 on the occasion of the Golden Jubilee of the High Court Building of Allahabad.

*Courtesy — Allahabad High Court Centenary (1866-1966)
Volume II at 123-123.*

A HERO OF HUNDRED FIGHTS

Two years have rolled by since that lion among men, Pandit Motilal Nehru, closed his eyes for ever. On February 6, 1931, shortly after the sun had kissed the dust of the eastern horizon, this gallant son of India had made his exit to the region of Beyond. The historic city of Lucknow awoke to witness the gloom cast by the shadow of death. Within a very short time all roads leading to the residence of the Raja of Kalakankar, the last of the earthly abodes of the venerable Pandit, were a sea of humanity. People of all ranks flocked to pay their homage to the departed leader. Solemnly the car bearing his body made its difficult way, through the surging crowd that had assembled to get a last glimpse of the great man. Villagers on the way paid their respects to the 'dark freight' in the rustic simplicity of their own surroundings; and it was not quite till late in the afternoon that the gates of Anand Bhawan were flung open to receive its lifeless occupant. The sun was now gradually setting in the pinkish rue of the western sky and evening was slowly creeping over the town. And, as if to synchronise with the solemnity of the hour, the last remains were consumed in a sublime bonfire, lit by his grief-stricken son, after the fashion of Hindu ceremonials.

The next morning messages poured in from far and near, from friends and foes, from rich and poor — messages that so poignantly referred to the gap Pandit Motilal Nehru left in public life. Indeed, in his demise the nation lost its grandest figure. Hero of a hundred fights, Pandit Motilal had lived his life to the full, and even to the last minute of his earthly existence there was no sign of surrender. Surrounded by his friends and relatives, nursed on the one hand by Mrs. Sarojini Naidu and on the other by his worthy son, treated by a physician of the standing of Dr. B. C. Roy, and cheered by the constant presence of Mahatma Gandhi, who could have desired for a more

congenial atmosphere of love and homeliness? This uncrowned king of India died, as he lived, in the majesty of his own glory.

Motilalji's life had been a delightful story with a pathetic ending illustrating the sterling qualities of courage, sacrifice, and unfaltering patriotism. Motilalji lives in his son, who is ably performing the task left unfinished by his sire. His palatial Anand Bhawan will always stand through centuries as a wonder of Allahabad. Its massive columns and mosaic floorings, its stately rooms and their lovely furniture, speak of his refined and aesthetic taste. And even to this day when he is no more, people from the neighbouring hamlets and far off towns make their pilgrimage to this magnificent monument.

Much ink has been spilled in speculating as to who was responsible for his political conversion from a moderate of moderates to an extreme Congressman. Some are inclined to think that Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru was responsible for it; others that it was just an evolution that was slowly crystallising into a conviction. The truth lies between these two assertions. His first debut in politics was in 1907 when he delivered a speech in Mayo Hall. At that early date he was known more as a leading advocate of the Allahabad High Court than as a politician of even the third degree. He studiously kept himself far from the madding crowd of politicians and politics and interested himself in his profession where he undoubtedly made a great mark. But he was gradually drifting to politics and was elected a member of the U.P. Legislative Council in 1909 and was returned to the Council at every succeeding election till the starting of the non-cooperation movement in 1920.

In his early political career his policy was one of co-operation and he believed in the British sense of justice and fairplay. Speaking of John Bull he said, "It takes him rather long to comprehend fully the situation, but when he does see things plainly he does his plain duty. . . ."

About this time the people of Bengal were agitating over the partition question and an extremist school was gradually forming in that province. Pandit Motilal was strongly opposed to the methods adopted by this school and he is reported to have said "I do not subscribe to most of the doctrines of my 'extremist' friends. . . ."

But it seems that his liberal attitude was destined to yield place to a more sceptical outlook. The change, however, did not come all too suddenly. Slowly and imperceptibly it was taking hold of him. Those were the gloomy days of the Great

War when he was organising the Indian Defence Force in the United Provinces. It was at that time that Mrs. Besant was interned for starting the Home Rule movement, and this shook his faith in the British democracy and when the Punjab became a chamber of horrors Pandit Motilal Nehru was drawn into the vortex of Home Rule. "I say on my own behalf and also on behalf of my countrymen," he declared, "that we seek no retaliation or retributive justice. What we seek is redress, redress for the many wrongs done to us...The redress is not to be measured by money; not by a few privileges; not by any scheme of Reform. It lies in the immediate departure of the Bureaucracy". Notwithstanding this despair and irritation he calmly urged the Amritsar Congress to work the Reforms and utilise them as a step to better progress. Affairs, however, were drifting towards a different direction and the ground had been prepared for the reception of Mahatma Gandhi's doctrine of non-co-operation with its programme of boycott of legislatures, Government schools and colleges, law courts and the like. Pandit Motilal Nehru did not lag behind and responded to the call of Gandhiji, gave up his lucrative practice, and became one of the most powerful supporters of the movement. At this juncture he was ably helped in his activities by his only son; and both father and son courted imprisonment for the first time.

Pandit Motilal Nehru with his clear-sighted vision and great political insight organised the Swaraj Party with a view to capturing the legislatures and in this task he was warmly supported by the late lamented Deshbandhu Chittaranjan Das, his distinguished contemporary. The final blow came when the Simon Commission, an all-White body, was appointed in the teeth of popular opposition. Things were now clearly heading towards a crisis and Pandit Motilal Nehru could foresee the struggle that was about to begin. With his usual alacrity he set to make a scheme that would satisfy all parties and placed his memorable Nehru Report — wherein he gave eloquent evidence of his high qualities of constructive statesmanship — before the All-Parties Conference (held in Calcutta, 1928) for ratification. In the same year he strained his utmost to urge the Congress to pass the resolution on Dominion Status. He succeeded. He was so anxious to save India from a fiery ordeal that he exhorted Great Britain for the last time in 1928 to grant to India full Dominion Status. The younger generation under the leadership of Pandit Jawaharlal was impatiently pressing for Independence if the national demand for Dominion Status was not granted in the meantime. The

Lahore Congress in 1929 authorised Mahatma Gandhi to start the civil disobedience movement.

Early in 1930 the civil disobedience movement started and Pandit Motilal Nehru was not slow to come forward, though by this time he had definitely aged. But his vigour and intellect, his spirit and enthusiasm had, if anything, been sharpened and augmented. Infirm as he was, he courted imprisonment cheerfully and followed his beloved son to the Naini Central Prison. But here too he had not lost sight of peace...and worked for an amicable settlement between the Congress and the Government. In spite of ill-health, he journeyed to distant Poona only to return with failure of his mission. Then his health began to fail and he was released before the expiry of his term. But cruel Death was plotting against him...

His death removed a great figure from Indian public life. From the national point of view it was a political catastrophe. Never before was his presence more needed. Nobody missed him more keenly than the Mahatma who felt, without him, 'worse than a widow'.

Motilalji's speaking power was incomparable. His great legal erudition helped him to grasp the principles of diplomacy in their true perspective, and he could put his case clearly and neatly. A great parliamentarian and a greater statesman, he played a very important part in the Legislative Assembly. His speeches revealed perspicacity...His 'word was his bond' and won him the admiration even of his worst enemies. And for this unique uprightness of character...The nation paid him the highest honour by making him twice the President of the Indian National Congress.

His sacrifices are written in letters of gold. Mahatma Gandhi considers his death as the final act of his sacrifice. Truly, he gave up even his life for his country. Pandit Motilal Nehru renounced his practice when he reached the zenith of his professional career, came out in the political field when age had sapped his constitution, courted imprisonment when health barely permitted the hardships of prison life. His old Anand Bhawan, where once wine flowed freely and Governors were invited to grace many a banquet table laid with the choicest of viands, was given away to the nation. But there has been a greater gift — his son Jawaharlal Nehru.

P.K. BANERJI

By Courtesy — Leader, Allahabad, February 6, 1933.

BY THE PRESS

THE DAILY HERALD (London):

The methods that Pandit Motilal Nehru and his fellow leaders adopted brought him definitely into a collision with the British Government and the Government of India, but if Pandit Motilal had to be counted as an enemy, he was an enemy who had always not only respect but the warm admiration of those who fought him.

It is tragic that he could not live to see the peaceful realisation of his hopes which he believed to be possible in the very near future.

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES (Delhi):

Pandit Motilal Nehru is no more. He lived the life of a hero and has earned the death of a martyr. Pandit Motilal had achieved all that human ambition could desire — power, wealth, fame and the love, homage and esteem of millions of his countrymen. He had done all that a true soldier of the motherland could do to free his nation from subjection and bondage. His only joy in life was the service of the motherland. He was not afraid of sufferings or death. So far as Pandit Motilal is concerned, he has earned his laurels and has made peace with his Maker. But his death at this critical juncture in the nation's history is a calamity, the true extent of which cannot at present be gauged or expressed. He has left a big gap in the public life of the country which it would be impossible to fill. Lokamanya Tilak, Chittaranjan Das and Lala Lajpat Rai are some of those who have predeceased him and with whose work his own can bear comparison. Each of them left the country poorer for his loss. India has not found a second Tilak, a second Deshbandhu Das or a second Lajpat Rai. India is not likely to find a second Motilal Nehru. When the history of India's struggle for freedom comes

to be written, the name of the Nehru family and of Pandit Motilal Nehru, will find a place, second only to the name of the Gandhi family and Mahatma Gandhi, in respect both of the sacrifices made in the service of the motherland and the contributions made for the uplift of the nation. Pandit Motilal possessed the courage of a lion, the daring of a soldier, the will for suffering of a martyr, the intelligence of a statesman, and the heart of a prince... Today every man and woman of India will sympathise with Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru on whose shoulders the burden of the responsibilities of his father has fallen. The nation's sympathies will go also to Mahatma Gandhi who has lost at this crucial juncture one of his most dependable and illustrious colleagues. Above all, the nation will itself have to bear a grief which could not have been more profound, if a country's uncrowned king had died. Pandit Motilal was the uncrowned king of a million hearts. He was the idol of his people. He was one of the most popular and powerful men of his age. It is unfortunate that he did not live to see the object of his life-long sufferings achieved. But by his sacrifices, he has immortalized himself and his illustrious name will go down in history among the foremost nation-builders of India. He will not be available to the country in deciding the important problems now waiting for solution. But he has shown that by suffering and sacrifice alone, a country can achieve its freedom and birth-right. If the present writer is rightly informed, during the last meeting of the Working Committee, he expressed in words which will go down in history as epoch-making, his attitude towards the Round Table Conference. "I am always prepared for an honourable peace" he is reported to have said: "but till there is one drop of Nehru blood in any living child, there will not be and cannot be any surrender."

THE TRIBUNE (Lahore)

...It cannot, indeed, be denied that the place which Pandit Motilal Nehru occupied in the Congress and in the public life of the country cannot be filled by any other living man. For long years he had been a sort of golden bridge between the old and the new, first between the nationalism of Tilak and the nationalism of Gandhi, then between the non-cooperation of Gandhi and the socialism of his own son. He was the first among India's older leaders to rally round the banner unfurled by the Mahatma. He was also the first to break away from it when he found that it had landed the country in what he justly

described as a stalemate. He was, again, the first to return to the Gandhi fold when it was made more comprehensive, and when the movement which he had so valiantly led in the Assembly, as in the Congress, had like the older Gandhi movement led to a cul-de-sac. Lastly, he was the first to realise the value of a constructive contribution to the solution of India's constitutional question, and the Nehru report, of which he was the principal author, will for ever remain a monument of his political genius and sagacity. He was perhaps the one man among the great Congress leaders who enjoyed the respectful confidence not only of all Congressmen but of all politically minded Indians, and even of the Government. Inferior as he, like all other purely political leaders, was to the Mahatma in saintliness, in personal magnetism and in moral and spiritual force, he was superior to him as a statesman. Among the great Congress leaders of today he was perhaps the one man to whom no one, whether in other political parties in the country or among officials, would have denied the title of a statesman of the very first rank. In reality there was a consensus of opinion among all who were in touch with the actual realities of India's politics that if India became free and self-governing during his lifetime the choice of the Governor-General or the first Prime Minister would inevitably fall upon him. One great secret of Pandit Motilal's universal popularity was the fact that he was absolutely free from sectarian passion. The party that he led in the Assembly so brilliantly and so successfully was an absolutely non-communal party, and the Muslim members of the party were as devoted to him as the Hindu members. Indeed, we are not aware of any other living Indian leader, whether in the Congress or the country, always excepting the Mahatma, who had so large a political following among members of all communities as Pandit Motilal. To be deprived of such a son is, indeed, an irreparable loss to the Motherland. . . .

THE PEOPLE (Lahore)

Death has dealt India the cruellest blow it could deal today. For though in the struggle for India's liberation in the period following upon the war — in Indian terms in the period beginning with the Jallianwala massacre — Pandit Motilal was ever in the forefront, and great as his contribution as a front-rank leader during all these years was, India never needed him so badly as it does at this moment. He was the man for this moment; and the present was the juncture when a man with his

peculiar gifts was needed more than anybody else to affix an indelible impress on India's history. As news of his illness having taken a critical turn came during the past several days the present writer often remarked in private talk that though the 'amnesty' was engrossing the attention of the people more than anything else, if the gods granted him a boon of his choice, he would ask for Pandit Motilal's recovery rather than for the release of the fifty thousand in jails....

Motilal knew when to turn to civil disobedience, when to Assembly work, when to drafting a constitution, as a general knows when to order a frontal attack, when a flank one, when to bide his time and when to storm the enemy's citadel.

At the bar, in the Assembly, in the Congress — everywhere he was a giant. Leave aside Gandhi, and there is no doubt he stood head and shoulders above any other leader in India's politics. As a mere politician indeed he was superior in his sense of realities, his astute judgment and his grasp of the strategic position, to Gandhi....

THE STATESMAN (Calcutta)

By the death of Pandit Motilal Nehru Indian political life becomes distinctly poorer. Of late years he had insisted on being labelled an Extremist and during Mr. Gandhi's agitation ten years ago and again more recently he even forced the Government to put him in prison. Never was there a more unwelcome task. It is of frequent occurrence in India for a fiery young rebel against Government to end either by serving his country in a responsible position or by abandoning politics altogether and wrapping himself in a mantle of contemplation to devote the remainder of his days to the search for God.... He did not follow the familiar Indian evolution which leads to Conservation in age, because he had given his heart to youth. It was a generous heart, and there can be none who does not regret that it is stilled.

THE AMRITA BAZAR PATRIKA (Calcutta)

The body was unwilling to release the soul and the soul was unwilling to leave the body. Never was there a nobler soul, never a braver body. They have parted at last, as they had to. "I shall not die till India has achieved freedom." These words on the death-bed, more eloquent than any words could be, expressed the spirit of the man, who, a fighter all his life, had been fighting against death with that courage, perseverance

and cheerfulness that marked his renowned leadership. Pt. Motilal is no more! The words will reverberate through the length and breadth of India and in lands beyond the seas. The mind will call forth the vision of the man and his snow-capped head, leading and counselling his countrymen in their struggle for Swaraj. His ripe wisdom, his clear vision, his fearlessness, will no longer be at the service of the nation. His wonderful personality, strong as rock yet amiable, which attracted to his friends and foes, will be missed at this crisis of the nation's history. He was a general and a statesman both. He was the General Botha of war and had he lived a little longer he would have been the General Smuts of peace....He might have, had he cared, lived to the end of his life like a prince with all the joys that life can bestow. Who could be a prouder or happier man than the father who had a Jawaharlal for his son?....All the blessings of life he had had. But he threw them all away. For whom and for what? For the country and the cause he had made his own. As he came more and more in the struggle, and got more and more hits, his spirit rose more and more, till the climax was reached when he sacrificed not only himself but one and all that was near and dear to him. The sacrifice of the Nehru family passed into a proverb. Man lives and man dies, families thrive and families decay, but the sacrifice of the Nehru family with the venerable patriarch at the head will ever blazen forth in the immortal pages of history....

THE ADVANCE (Calcutta)

....Panditji lived a great life, fought a great fight and has died a great death. Born to lead he led wherever he found himself. Whether at the Bar, or on the floor of the Assembly, or at the deliberations of the Congress and the Swarajya Party, wherever he appeared, he left his mark. His directness and sincerity disarmed those who differed from him. His wit and humour brightened up the most tired of faces. His singleness of purpose and noiseless energy put faith and enthusiasm into all doubters. The Report which he drew up for the All-Parties Conference will endure as a testimony of his will to peace and unity. An uncompromising fighter, a selfless patriot, Pandit Motilal Nehru has verily offered himself a sacrifice on the altar of Freedom, while to the nation he has left a priceless legacy in his son who will continue the struggle which he began in 1920 with Deshbandhu Chittaranjan Das and Mahatma Gandhi....

THE PIONEER (Allahabad)

The death of Pandit Motilal Nehru will be mourned by people of all classes and communities in India, and they will join whole-heartedly the Viceroy and Lady Irwin in extending their deep sympathy to the members of the bereaved family. The tributes, which have been pouring in from all quarters from Indians and Europeans, from political opponents as well as colleagues eloquently demonstrate, the widespread respect in which the late Pandit was held. Testimony has been forthcoming from many sources to the brilliant ability and loveable qualities of Pandit Motilal Nehru, notably from the Bench and Bar of the Allahabad High Court, who are probably in a better position than anyone else to estimate his worth. Sir Grimwood Mears was indulging in no exaggeration when he said that Pandit Motilal Nehru left behind a great reputation in that court and that his name will be one of its proud traditions....

THE HINDU (Madras)

The news of the death of Pandit Motilal Nehru will come with almost the violence of a personal bereavement to every Indian home. The sense of the national loss is not the less poignant because the daily bulletins about the inexorable progress of the disease had in a way prepared the country for the worst. Motilal was not merely the greatest of our order statesmen, but at no time in our history has the need for such wise guidance as he could give been so urgent and indispensable. The sorrow and suffering that he so cheerfully faced in the cause of the country were deeply uncongenial to one who had led a princely life and undermined a health never robust and thereby hastened the end. Barely a few days before his passing he is reported to have told a friend, "I am not afraid of death and I have had enough of life, but I am determined to live till I have seen the birth of a Free India."....

....Motilal has many claims to the proud and grateful remembrance of his countrymen. He was a great advocate, a brilliant tactician, an unrivalled political organiser and he commanded the allegiance of the intelligentsia in a measure unequalled by any other statesman of recent times with the exception of Tilak. He had, too, that rare social charm which is the index of a native aristocracy of soul and which no political vicissitude can quench. But the quality that one prized most in him was the fundamental sanity and breadth of his outlook. He had the truly international mind. It was not the shallow

cosmopolitanism of the clever idler who finds in it a refuge from irresponsibility. Nor was it the pretentious idealism with which blase politicians are wont to while away a holiday stay at Geneva. He was a man to whom knowledge of the working of the European mind came naturally; and the European in his turn could understand him whereas he was merely puzzled or distracted by the uncompromising vision of a Gandhi or the volcanic emotionalism of a Das. Even more tragic does it become when we consider that in the difficult days ahead, when a false step may dispel all chances of an honourable settlement or plunge the country in a struggle of which no one can foresee the end, we shall miss his sage counsel, the pervasive influence of his urbane personality, his enviable gift of establishing contacts, and the steady fire of his patriotism. Many and great have been his gifts to his Motherland; not the least of them is a son of whom the country is justly proud.

THE SWARAJYA (Madras)

....He has left his mark as a great lawyer, a powerful debater, and a singularly able and gifted party leader, but we believe the most monumental and lasting expression of the regard and homage of his countrymen will be founded on the energy and fearlessness which he imparted to Congress politics moulding out of it the magnificent fighting organisation which it has become today. Pandit Motilal has been the standard-bearer of national self-respect whenever it received its most grievous injury. His very first emergence into active political warfare is a revelation of the essential character of the man.... He was one of the Titans of our public life in this generation and the force he put into the struggle for Swaraj is incalculable. We are averse to think that the cause of Swaraj will suffer by his passing away. For it is the quality of the great that their memory speaks with no less eloquence when they are gone than that of their own words and deeds when they are alive.

THE BOMBAY CHRONICLE (Bombay)

....He was endowed with many gifts. A self-sacrificing patriot, an intrepid fighter, a masterful statesman and, above all, an unfailing friend of the poor, he was the embodiment of the qualities of a true aristocrat in an age which professes but does not practise democracy. The story of his heroic sacrifice — the abandonment of a princely practice was the least part of it — will never be forgotten by generations of his fellow-countrymen. He died at a ripe age, but there is no doubt that his

death was hastened by the suffering that imprisonment, which he cheerfully underwent, involved. As a fighter he never flinched, however heavy the odds against him, and it was his unrivalled courage that had no little share in stimulating the efforts of the country in this last struggle for freedom....

THE MAHRATTA (Poona)

....What earthly power can withstand the tricky fatal onslaughts which the ever jealous and ungracious Fate takes wicked delight in launching against Indian leaders at crucial moments in the history of the nation, which they had consecrated their lives to emancipate from foreign thralldom? Lokamanya Tilak, Deshbandhu Das, Lala Lajpat Rai, Mahomed Ali — alas, Death laid His icy hand on their glorious heads exactly at a time when their live energies and thoughts were mightily needed to give the proper lead to the nation. And yet the demise of Pandit Motilalji in the nation's present circumstances cannot but be described as the most unkindest cut of all. It is indeed a national disaster. It is a crushing blow to his worthy son, the mirror of Young India's aspirations, and to his patriotic family. It is a personal and irreparable loss to Mahatma Gandhi. It is a stab in the heart of the Congress. It is a great calamity to all, all his followers, admirers and friends in all parties, who have exhibited the high and reverential regard in which the illustrious deceased was held, by means of the fine tributes paid to his inspiring memory after his death....

His sublime leadership of the non-official section of the Legislative Assembly during 1923-29, his Secretaryship of the Swarajya Party formed at Gaya, his achievement of the Nehru Report and many other outstanding facts in his political career, will always continue to bear witness to his capacity of work, his skill in negotiations with other parties, his amphibious, constructive and destructive statesmanship, his dexterous diplomacy, his strength of convictions and other qualities which served to exalt him above the whole galaxy of national leaders....

But, by the cruel stroke of Destiny, Pandit Motilalji is gone, never to return. And gone, gone are with him the qualities of a loving father, a hospitable host, an excellent advocate, a sincere friend, a keen debater, a peerless politician, a strong-willed statesman, a shrewd diplomat, above all a national leader and servant whose place it will be impossible for the nation to fill up, at least in the near future. In his bereavement, Pandit Jawaharlal, a worthy son of a worthy father may well rest

assured that the nation as a whole mourns and condoles with him. And Pandit Jawaharlalji may take consolation from the admitted fact that his father forsook this world after living almost a full life and devoting his all to his motherland's unstinted service. He, therefore, must justly be said to have died a heroic death. May his soul rest in perfect peace.

THE LEADER (Allahabad)

All his life Pandit Motilal Nehru was a fighter; with characteristic strength of will he fought Death itself. Though his mighty spirit has thrown off its mortal coil, his immense sacrifices in the cause of his country's freedom, his great sincerity of purpose, his indomitable courage, his untiring energy and lofty patriotism will for long be a source of inspiration to his countrymen. He was a tower of strength to the national cause taken away by Providence, whose ways are inscrutable, at a time when his mature judgment, penetrating intellect and exalted patriotism were most needed for dealing with problems of extraordinary complexity....Mahatma Gandhi and Pandit Motilal Nehru were in a sense complementary to each other. The one represented the soul and the other the brain of the National movement. Pandit Motilal Nehru, in spite of the fact that he had reached the allotted span of three score and ten, remarkably preserved his physical and mental vigour....

His political career has a lesson to teach to those who have had the shaping of the destiny of this country in their hands. They have by their short-sighted and reactionary policy, their disregard of public opinion and opposition to nationalist aspiration... alienated many of the finest spirits in the land and raised enormous forces of discontent. Convinced in their conceit of their own infallibility and righteousness they have held educated Indian Leaders responsible for the growth of disaffection. If they but dispassionately study the life of Pandit Motilal Nehru and his public utterances during momentous periods in the recent history of the country they will perhaps realize where the principal responsibility lies for the existing state of affairs. As the extracts from his speeches will show, he was in the beginning of his political career one of the most moderate and responsible of Indian leaders. His admiration for British character and his faith in Government's goodness and Britain's righteousness was unbounded. He was one of the promoters of Newspapers Limited which owns the Leader and which was founded to fight reaction on one side and extremism on the other, and

was its first chairman. Hard experience brought about a progressive change in him, and he was converted from a die-hard constitutionalist into an ardent direct actionist. There might have been other contributory causes, but the fundamental change in his outlook is largely traceable to acts and policies of Government which drove into opposition many an eminent Indian, among whom was Mahatma Gandhi himself. And yet, we believe, in spite of his apparent extremism, Pandit Motilal Nehru continued to be a moderate at heart. And there were many like him in the Congress whose heart yearned for peace and who were ever ready for a just and reasonable settlement.

Pandit Motilal possessed many great qualities. In addition to his uncommon intellectual gifts, he possessed remarkable qualities of leadership. His business-like methods, masterful personality and concentrated earnestness of purpose made him a successful leader and organiser. In spite of his autocratic temperament, which was a part of his strong and decisive nature he knew how to handle men. If he was a great and able fighter as a lawyer, he was a formidable foe as a politician. With these qualities he combined a spirit of sacrifice which was remarkably demonstrated when he gave up his lucrative practice, devoted himself wholeheartedly to the cause of the country and courted imprisonment during the non-co-operation days. It is not surprising that endowed with such high qualities and with a splendid record of self-sacrificing public service he should have become the idol of the people. Twice he was elected President of the great national organisation. His first election followed the great services he rendered to the oppressed people of the Punjab in exposing the atrocities committed during the martial law regime and helping them in their hour of suffering. His address at the Amritsar Congress principally dealt with the two burning topics of the day, the Punjab outrages and the Reforms Act. His view with regard to the latter was that although it fell short of the minimum demands made by the Congress, they should make the most of what they had got. He appealed to the Congressmen to work the 'new Reforms', utilize them for the betterment of the country and continue to press and agitate for our full demands. With true political foresight, however, he opposed the Ordinance-making power of the Governor-General. "I cannot reconcile myself to the idea" he said, "that a single individual, be he the wisest and most responsible man on earth, should be invested, even in an emergency, with the power to enact laws affecting a fifth of the

human race". His presidential address at Calcutta in 1928 bore testimony to his political foresight. He declared that "again we are on the threshold of another great struggle for freedom . . . pure idealism completely divorced from realities had no place in politics and is but a happy dream which must sooner or later end in a rude awakening". He emphasised that "false analogies from other countries can only help to confuse the issues". The police high-handedness attending the progress of the Simon Commission appeared to him "symptomatic of grave organic defect and not merely of the wellknown functional incapacity of the Government". Referring to the warnings of indefinite repression indulged in by the Anglo-Indian Press he declared that "there can be nothing better than resolute government at this juncture to bring matters to a head." He pointed out that coercive methods defeated their own purpose but "the bureaucracy had little use for lessons of history." As regards the demand for 'Complete Independence' voiced at the Madras session of the Congress he said, "I am for Complete Independence — as complete as it can be — but I am not against full Dominion Status — as full as any Dominion possesses it today — provided I get it before it loses all attraction." He forecast that there was nothing before the country but a protracted life and death struggle on the one side, and complete repression relieved by an occasional dose of undiluted oppression on the other," for he believed that "only when complete independence is in sight that the party in power will be inclined to negotiate for something less." . . . "The truth is," he further said, "that we cannot get anything from England except by proving our strength . . . Solid and ungrudging sacrifice alone will do it. . ." He concluded by pleading for the acceptance of the constitution outlined in the All-Parties Report which was based on the principle of the highest common agreement. He thus stood out as the great apostle of national unity. He strongly criticised the narrow communalists and declared that "religion has been degraded and politics has sunk into the mire".

After the collapse of the great non-co-operation movement started by Mahatma Gandhi in 1920, he, in conjunction with Mr. C. R. Das and a number of other Congress leaders, raised the standard of revolt, effectively disposed of the demand for the starting of mass civil movement by declaring, after an all-India tour of enquiry, that the country was not ripe for it, and by organising the Swaraj Party, lifting the boycott of the legislatures and capturing the majority of the seats in many of them

turned what looked like a rout of the Congress into victory. No doubt the organisation of the Swaraj Party created acute dissensions within the Congress, but, certainly, the sweeping success of the Swarajist candidates at the elections enhanced in the popular eye the prestige of the Congress and demonstrated what a great hold this organisation had acquired on the masses. It showed that he was a master of political strategy, endowed with hard commonsense; one who could adapt himself to circumstances. . . .

At Lahore the centre and the left wings of the Congress coalesced and passed a resolution in favour of the starting of the civil disobedience movement. This session was preceded by the walk-out of the Swarajists from the legislatures, although many of them strongly disapproved of the decision for the boycott of the legislatures. Pandit Motilal Nehru, owing to indifferent health, did not take an active part in the campaign of civil disobedience which was started by Mahatma Gandhi, but when the call of duty came he responded with alacrity — and was imprisoned. In jail the condition of his health became so alarming that he was released. He did not regain his normal health, and despite the best medical aid and careful nursing his condition grew steadily worse. . . . He wished to live to see India free. But he was not spared to witness the fruition of his selfless labours and sacrifices and the fulfilment of his heart's desire. May his soul rest in peace.

THE TIMES (London)

Pandit Motilal Nehru was one of the outstanding figures in the chequered political history of India from the date of the Montague-Chelmsford Reforms. He was for some years the Swarajist leader in the Legislative Assembly, and was one of the powerful triumvirate, with Mahatma Gandhi and Pandit M.M. Malaviya, — opposed to the maintenance of British authority in India.

The Pandit's life was marked by a striking contrast between the outlooks and habits of his earlier years and those of his days of political power. As an eminent lawyer at Allahabad he lived in pre-war days in luxurious style, entertaining liberally both Indian and British friends. After the war he associated himself with Mr. Gandhi in the non-co-operation movement and quickly came into prominence. Imprisoned for taking part in an unlawful assembly, on his release he made a bonfire of his European wardrobe, put on homespun khaddar in its place, and

forsook his western mode of life. He had impressive gifts of speech, and his qualities of character and intellect fitted him for the commanding position he held as a Congress leader.

Pandit Motilal Nehru was born in a wealthy Kashmiri Brahmin family on May 6, 1861. Enrolled as an advocate of the Allahabad High Court, he built up a large and lucrative practice and earned an income, mostly from civil cases, which only two or three other Indian lawyers could equal. The home he built at Allahabad, which he called "Anand Bhawan", or "Joy's Abode", was one of the finest private residences in the country. Owing to his eloquence and his wealth the Pandit was in demand as a chairman at public meetings and conferences, at which he set a high standard of correctness both in dress and in speech. Like most Kashmiri Brahmins, he was attracted to Nationalist movements, and in 1907 was president of the United Provinces Provincial Conference, the local reflection of the Indian National Conference. Soon afterwards he became a member of the local Legislature.

In the spring of 1919, after the shooting at Amritsar and his entertainment of Mr. Gandhi when the Mahatma was visiting Allahabad, Pandit Motilal Nehru declared himself an extremist. He turned his luxurious home into a free public school, and later made it over to the Congress organisation to provide permanent headquarters, thereafter living with his family in what had been one of the outhouses of his residence. He found a constant source of inspiration in his wife, who readily and indeed eagerly shared in these sacrifices. The Pandit founded the "Independent", an aggressively Nationalist paper, and accepted the presidency of what had now become the extremist National Congress. Under his chairmanship in 1919 the Congress rejected the Montague-Chelmsford Reforms, decided to boycott the reconstituted Legislatures, and urged its adherents to take no part in the elections. In pursuit of his new aims the Pandit suspended his practice at the Bar and travelled about the country in support of the non-co-operation movement. He was imprisoned for taking part in an unlawful assembly, whereupon his wife, who had formerly observed purdah restrictions, determined to take his place at public meetings.

After his release from prison in 1922, the Pandit, under the influence of the late Mr. C.R. Das, so far, modified his attitude of negation as to accept election to the second Legislative Assembly in the General Election at the close of 1923, with, however, definitely obstructive intent.

On the death of Mr. Das, in 1925 he became President of the All-India Swaraj Party. Under his guidance the Party was fused in the following year with the National Congress Party....

In the Legislative Assembly the Pandit made an astute and eloquent leader of the main opposition, that of the Congress Party. His dominant aim in this capacity was Indian autonomy. Under his leadership the party was well drilled and well organised and regular in its attendance in the house. Government measures were generally opposed and delayed, but the Pandit and his followers took their share of work on Select Committees, and never quite carried out the plan of mere obstruction.

The Pandit actively promoted the boycott of the Simon Commission on its appointment at the close of 1927. He took the lead in responding to the challenge of the late Lord Birkenhead, then at the India Office, to those who refused co-operation, to produce their own plan of political reform. A few months later the committee appointed under his chairmanship by the (All-Parties) Conference to frame a scheme produced the "Nehru Report". This well-written document formulated a plan for "Dominion Status".

The political temperature rose, and at the forty-third annual session of the National Congress, held at Calcutta at the end of 1928, under the presidency of the Pandit, the boycott of British goods was recommended. Further, Mr. Gandhi secured the adoption of a resolution that if by the end of 1929 the British Government had not accepted the Constitution outlined by the Nehru Committee in its entirety, Congress would organize a non-cooperation movement, to include refusal to pay taxes. Meanwhile the Pandit's son Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, was pressing forward the idea of complete independence from the British connexion.

Shortly before the end of 1929, after the Viceroy's pronouncement on the goal of British policy in India, the Pandit joined with Mr. Gandhi and other leaders in asking for an assurance which it was not possible for the Viceroy to give, namely, that the purpose of such a Round-Table Conference as it was proposed to summon would be to draft a scheme of Dominion Status which the British Government would undertake to support. Assembling a few days later at Lahore, the National Congress, on the ground of this inevitable refusal declared the Nehru scheme of Dominion Status to have lapsed, and asked all parties in Congress to devote exclusive attention to the attainment of complete independence.

There is reason to believe that the Pandit was inclined at

this stage to dissociate himself from this extreme course, but his deep affection for his son, who delivered an inflammatory Presidential address, stood in the way of his cessation from the Congress. Instead, the veteran threw himself into the promotion of the programme of civil disobedience inaugurated in the spring of 1930. . . . He was sentenced early in July to six months' imprisonment. After a few weeks the Pandit was released on grounds of ill-health.

On February 6, 1931, Pandit Motilal Nehru was no more.

SOME SELECTED LETTERS

THE FIRST PLUNGE

I am rather nervous about my ability to discharge my duties as President of the Provincial Conference. I had not quite made up my mind to accept it when I wrote last, but the news of our doings at the little meeting at Anand Bhawan soon found its way to the press and my nomination as President has now been published by all the papers throughout India. It is rather awkward to get out of it now without some very solid and substantial reason for doing so. I have therefore been compelled to accept it. It is entirely a new line for me and I have very grave doubts of being able to justify the expectations of my friends. However, I have rushed into it and must bear the consequences.

What I am particularly afraid of is the student class. They have of late developed a remarkable aptitude for rowdyism and no sober and serious thinker can ever expect to secure an uninterrupted hearing from an audience composed of this element. Tilak was here the other day specially to address the students. He inculcated all his wild and revolutionary propaganda and succeeded to such an extent that the students of the Muir College (especially those of the Hindu Boarding House) have assumed an attitude of open defiance to the more moderate leaders of these Provinces. Sundarlal and Malaviya are openly abused. I have so far escaped but cannot be safe much longer as my views are even more moderate than those of the so-called moderates. At present the boys declare that they will all be happy to follow my lead as they think I have given ample proof of my independent and fearless adherence to my own view in matters social etc. Whether they will think so when they hear my political views is a totally different question. I have however courted the storm and must brave it to the best of my ability. You will have

a copy of my inaugural address with all the severe criticisms bestowed on it.

(An extract from a letter to Shri Jawaharlal Nehru in 1907)

A PROUD FATHER

Moradabad
3-6-1912

My dear Jawahar,

I am being flooded with letters and telegrams of congratulations on your success and every one is looking forward anxiously to your return after such a long absence. I have been revolving schemes in my own mind as to various dispositions to be made in the house for your comfort but it is very unlikely that I shall be able to spend much time in Allahabad before you come and I am afraid it will come to your having to shift for yourself.

I would advise you to get rid of as many of your things as you can at once. Those fit to be sent over had better be shipped without delay. The less you are encumbered with luggage the happier you would be. I will send you some money next week. The October boats specially the P. & O. (if you care to travel by it) will be over-crowded and I would advise you to book your passage as early as possible. Let us know your date of arrival in Bombay in good time. All the scattered branches of the family are insisting on being present in force at Anand Bhawan to accord you a hearty welcome home. You should arrive early in November and the day of your arrival will be one of the happiest days in our lives.

With love.

Your loving
Father.

Anand Bhavan,
Allahabad
25th. August, 1924

Dear Mahatmaji,

The earliest opportunity of seeing you that I can hope for will perhaps come about the end of September or the beginning of November. I have, therefore, to content myself with writing much as I and the friends who met in Calcutta would have pre-



Arund Khandu

21.10.12

Dear Tawar,

Our over-zealous client
sent a money order for Rs 500/-
less your fee and it has
been directed to Mysore.
The first fee you for this
job was Rs 5/- (fine only)
You are evidently a hundred
times better than your father.
I wish I were my son instead
of being myself. The name of
the client is Rao Mahraj Singh.

He comes from a place called
Kazganj. He has several cows
feeding in the high Corn & I
don't know in which of them
he intends to retain you - But
the money is yours & you must
will be delighted to hear that you
got it as your first fee. & there
is the double pleasure for the
man who started on Rs 5/ only.

Yours loving
Father

ferred a personal talk between you and me on the subject of your letters. Your first letter was very carefully considered in our conference with several friends among whom may be mentioned Das, Hazrat Mohani, Sen Gupta, Moonji, Patel, Jayakar, Rangaswami Iyengar, Abhyankar, D.V. Gokhale, Ramdas, Sherwani, Asaf Ali and Raghvendra Rao, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad and Mrs. Naidu were present and the latter gave us the benefit of the impression she had formed at her last interview with you. I will not attempt to describe all that I have felt since your letters were received, and will leave it for you to imagine. Speaking for all of us collectively, I can assure you that the contents of those letters deeply moved everyone of us and the appeal contained in the last went straight to our hearts. We considered them with a deep sense of gratitude for your very generous offer to help us and we tried our best to find a way which would on the one hand be acceptable to you and on the other secure to us the strength and freedom so necessary for the success of our programme. I need hardly say that an unseemly scramble for power is as distasteful to me as it is to you and we would gladly give up anything short of our principles to ensure the peaceful atmosphere without which it is impossible for either party to work on its own lines. With all these considerations before us we have, after a most earnest and anxious consideration of the situation, come to the conclusion that the only effective way to avoid all conflict and unpleasantness is to confine the Congress to the three main heads of work you wish to concentrate upon viz. Hindu-Muslim unity, removal of untouchability and Khaddar. If this central idea is accepted, the following changes in the Congress constitution will, we trust, meet all the requirements of the case:

- (1) A clear line of demarcation to be drawn between the purely executive and the purely deliberative parts of the central and subordinate Congress organizations from top to bottom in all Provinces except Bengal; such executive to be run exclusively by No-changers under your guidance up to the end of 1925, regardless of the majority or minority view. The deliberative part to remain open to all by election as now but the Swarajists not to interfere with or take part in the actual working of the executive except when invited to do so. In other words, the All India Committee and the Provincial, District and Tehsil Com-

mittees with such alterations in their constitution as may be necessary to form the deliberative part of the machinery open to all by election.

- (2) The question of council entry not to be raised at the Belgaum Congress and no anti-Council propaganda to be carried on by the No-changers from now up to the end of 1925.
- (3) Each party to work in its own sphere of action without obstructing or interfering with the other.
- (4) Swarajists to render all help and co-operation to the Congress Executive in carrying out the programme settled as above.
- (5) All idea of either party working for a majority in order to capture the Congress of 1924 or that of 1925 to be definitely given up by issuing strict instructions in that behalf and the country to be left free to form its independent judgement on the merits of the work of both parties till the end of 1925.
- (6) Mahatma Gandhi to preside at the Belgaum Congress and lay down the revised programme for the whole country.

The above scheme, in our opinion, satisfies one of the two alternatives you have in view. Swarajists not acting upon the Congress and you not getting mixed up with the Council programme. The other alternative viz. the Swarajists manning the Congress and you relegating yourself to the position you occupied in 1915-1918 is not pleasant to contemplate. If your idea of Swarajists not acting upon the Congress means that they should go out of all the Congress organization, executive and deliberative, i.e. the All India Congress Committee and all Provincial, District and Tehsil Committees as they are now, it really comes to depriving the Swarajists of all footing in the Congress. Congressmen outside these Committees have only one function to perform and that is to vote once a year for those qualified to enter those Committees and also for the election of delegates to the Congress. You are disqualifying them for the Committees and leaving them to take their chance at the election of delegates to the Congress with no voice in the Subjects Committee of that Congress. What will happen has been illustrated in the case of Mr. M.R. Jayakar whom Bombay refused to elect even as a delegate. I leave it to you to say whether this is anything other than weakening the Swarajists which you say it is not your

purpose to do. As for embarrassing them, you cannot help doing so by walking out of the Congress in the manner you suggest. I for one will be no party to an agreement which is based on your retirement from the Congress as a condition precedent — not because I have the least doubt in my mind of being fully able to run it with my colleagues throughout the country according to our lights but because the fact of stipulating for your retirement goes against my very soul quite apart from the public odium involved in it. I have the misfortune to differ from you and am prepared to take the consequence at the hands of the country in the usual way but not by taking from you an agreement disabling yourself. My whole spirit revolts against such an undertaking. You are of course your own master and can take what step you think proper, but it shall not be at our request if it imposes the least disability or restraint on you. I hope you will re-consider the whole matter with special reference to what I have said and let me have your answer at Simla, Longwood Hotel.

Yours sincerely,
Motilal Nehru

On 30 August 1924 Gandhiji sent the following reply to Motilalji:

Bombay
30 August, 1924

Dear Motilalji,

I made a full surrender i.e. as full as I am capable of making, in my previous letters.

Our resolution should:

- (1) reiterate the Congress belief in the principle and policy of full Non-co-operation, including the boycott of Legislative Bodies,
- (2) but suspend them all save that of foreign cloth, up to the end of 1925,
- (3) should invite everybody to join the Congress,
- (4) should exclude the boycott of Empire goods,
- (5) and should confine Congress activity solely to the spread of hand-spinning and hand-spun khaddar, Hindu-Muslim unity and, for Hindus, to the removal of untouchability.

This means that Congressmen as such should have nothing to do either with Council or with boycotts but they may form their own organizations independently of the Congress to go on with Councils and other activities not inconsistent with the Congress activity. There can be no organization to prosecute the Council or other boycott suspended under the resolution; support of the existing national schools should continue and wherever possible new ones may be opened but they may not have any connection with the Government.

The four anna franchise should be abolished and instead each person becoming a member of the Congress organization should be a Khaddar-wearer, should contribute per month as a condition of membership, at least 2000 yards of yarn of his own spinning, it being open to every member to contribute the full quota for the whole year at one time.

I see no other way of making the Congress organization a real and living thing. Nor can I see any hope for the poor of India without the spinning wheel and we shall never fire their imagination unless we spin ourselves.

There are other alterations I should suggest in the constitution but they need not be mentioned now. We should have a declaration that the Working Committee should be regarded as executive bodies and the All India Congress Committee a deliberative body, and that executive bodies should contain only those who are committed to the full programme of the Congress. But under my proposal you (Swarajists) would be as eligible for election to the Working Committee as I.

Under my plan again there should be no exception in favour of Bengal. As a matter of fact, Swarajists may organize themselves fully in every Province without let or hindrance from the Congress. But the Congress organization everywhere should have only one programme. Thus Das may convert the Congress organization into a Swaraj organization and form himself and allow others to form a Congress organization pledged only to the three things. The Congress will neither help nor hinder other organizations but the latter should all, if their members are Congressmen, help the Congress programme. Conversely, Congressmen, who believe in many other things, not prohibited by the Congress, may join other organizations for their own activities.

Of the business part, so far as I can see, only the qualifications of membership may prove an obstacle but I hope you will see that if we all believe in Khaddar even as an economic

necessity, the acceptance of my proposition is absolutely necessary.

You will observe that I have written a letter as the thoughts have come to me. I do not mind for my sake, as I wish to live on your sufferance. No more of domestic wrangling for me.

Yours sincerely,
M.K. Gandhi

ON ELECTORATES, THE CONSTITUTION AND THE SANCTIONS

The Ashram,
Sabarmati, 3rd March, 1928.

Dear Motilalji,

I have your letter. I have discussed it with Jawaharlal, but he suggests and I agree that it will be better for me to reduce to writing the views I have expressed to him so that there may be no misunderstanding about the correct interpretation of my views, and so that he may also know whether he understood me correctly.

Electorate: I am of the same opinion that I expressed years ago at Delhi that we should not be party to separate electorates or to reservation of seats, the latter should be by mutual voluntary arrangement if such is necessary. But unless the Mussalmans agree, there is no going back by us on reservation of seats. The Congress is committed to it. I think, therefore, that we must simply adhere to the Congress resolution and expect Hindus and Mussalmans to carry out that resolution. If the All Parties Conference cannot discover another method acceptable to all, we must simply work out the Congress formula.

The Constitution: Personally, I am of opinion that we are not ready for drawing up a constitution. . . will have developed a sanction for ourselves. Any constitution that we may arrive at must be a final thing in the sense that we may improve upon but we may not recede from it even by an inch. There seems to be no atmosphere for arriving at such a constitution. I would personally therefore prefer instead of a constitution, a working arrangement between all parties upon which all may be agreed. This would be not a constitution but chief heads of it, as for instance, the Hindu-Muslim arrangement, the franchise, the policy as to the Native States. If we are to make this thing popular, I should bring in total prohibition and exclusive of

foreign cloth as an indispensable condition. Of course we should guarantee equality of treatment of all religions as also of the so-called untouchables. I am not exhaustive in the list of things on which there should be an agreement, but I have simply given a few things by way of illustration. I think that if we go beyond such a general agreement, we would be making a mistake. In any case, I do hope that the Conference will not break up without doing anything, and even if it does, the Working Committee should take the matter in its own hands and issue its own authoritative statement on behalf of the Congress on all the matters for which the Conference has been convened.

Sanction: More important than the two foregoing things, in my opinion, is the sanction. Unless we have created some force ourselves, we shall not advance beyond the position of beggars, and I have given all my time to thinking over this one question, and I can think of nothing else but boycott of foreign cloth with assistance of mills if possible, without if necessary. I hold it to be perfectly capable of attainment within a measurable distance of time, if we can create sufficient public opinion in its favour. I would have exclusive concentration upon this thing if I had my way. Though I have said nothing in public, I do not at all like what is going on in Bengal. So far as I can see it is doomed to failure and I can see much harm coming out of that failure. And unlike boycott of foreign cloth, it is valueless, unless it succeeds to the extent we want. Jawaharlal and I have given most of our time to a consideration of this question. And he will explain it all to you. As soon as he can be dispensed with, I would like you to send him back for further discussion of this problem if we do not finish before he leaves for Delhi.

I see that I am not to expect you here in the near future.

Yours sincerely,
M.K. Gandhi

AGAIN TO WEAR THE CROWN

June 27, 1928.

Dear Mahatmaji,

The proposal of Sen Gupta which you have communicated to me was to be considered as a part of my other activities in the country. I have delayed writing to you in the hope of being able to say something definite about those activities. I am sorry

I am not yet in a position to do so and have to seek your help and advice in coming to a decision.

The only inducement for me to "wear the crown" a second time would be the likelihood of doing better service than I can otherwise. If the Committee I am presiding over can bring up "something substantial" and feel called upon to go forward with it in the country there would perhaps be some justification for accepting the crown. But if the committee is unable to send up unanimous report on the controversial points there will be no foundation for any work either in the Congress or in the country which I can profitably take up. In that case it is only right that some one else better qualified should take up command for the ensuing year.

The position in the Committee is this. Out of ten members appointed at Bombay, Jayakar resigned at the start pleading ill-health. Joshi and Ali Imam did not attend any meeting. Subhas was able to join only the day before the meeting dispersed. Pradhan attended for a few days and then left us for good. Those who more or less regularly attended the meeting were Shuaib Qureshi, Aney, Sardar Mangal Singh, Tej Bahadur Sapru and I. This was quite a good attendance for the transaction of real business. We worked several hours a day for 17 days. The controversial points were brought up from time to time and after some general discussion laid aside for further consideration later. Meanwhile the framing of the constitution on the non-controversial points was continued until practically the whole ground was covered. What we have done is certainly better than any one of the previous drafts submitted to us but the controversial points remain where they were at Bombay. I brought round Aney and Mangal Singh to my view on the separation of Sindh and the grant of equal status of N.W.F.P. and Baluchistan. But Shuaib was adamant on the question of reservation of seats for the Muslim majorities in the Punjab and Bengal. We tried to secure full enjoyment of religious and communal rights by independent provision in the constitution to the extent of giving cultural autonomy to all communities quite apart from political predominance of one or the other community in the legislature. These provisions were very much appreciated by Shuaib and others but Shuaib stuck to his guns on the reservation of seats. Tej Bahadur cast his weight on the side of Shuaib and we came to an impasse. At this stage I called in Dr. Ansari and he was very favourably impressed with the provisions we had made and spent two days in trying to con-

vince Shuaib. But the latter after some wavering finally returned to his original position. It appears that he had been corresponding with Shaukat Ali, Shafi Daudi, and perhaps some others while discussions were going on and was simply acting as their mouthpiece. In this state of things the meeting dispersed on the 22nd and dissentient reports became inevitable.

After the members had left informal conferences were continued in which Tej Bahadur Sapru, Subhash Bose, Sherwani, Jawaharlal and myself took part and it was finally decided to make a further attempt to secure a unanimous report. I have accordingly fixed 6th July for the final meeting of the Committee and am inviting prominent non-members of both communities to come and help us in arriving at an agreement. Among those invited are Abul Kalam Azad, Shafi Daudi, Shaukat Ali, Maharaja Mahmud, Kitchlew, Khaliq-uz-Zaman, Malaviyaji, Kelkar, Jayakar, Lajpat Rai, Raja Rampal Singh and Ghanshyamdas Birla. Besides these Dr. Ansari will of course be present. The fate of the committee's work will depend upon the result of this conference. I have no great hopes from it but the attempt is worth making.

My own personal position is this. If by some chance I can get the Committee to sign a unanimous report it will be my duty to enlist as much support for it as possible not only at the All Parties Conference but also in the country at large. I will not mind some of the parties in the All Parties Conference dissociating themselves with the report even if they are as important as Muslim League and Hindu Mahasabha. I feel that the agreed report of the Committee will be a strong enough weapon in my hands to carry on the campaign in the country. If I fail to bring about an agreed report I feel there is no immediate use for me in the country. Dissentient notes will not carry us far and the only thing to do will be to begin at the beginning leaving the Simon Commission and the various party organisations severely alone.

The Simon boycott is not likely to last long. The various legislatures in the country are bound sooner or later to appoint committees to cooperate with the Commission. The parties outside the Congress will in course of time reconcile themselves to the position thus created and the Congress will be left alone to do what it can. In this eventuality I am clearly of opinion that there is no occasion for me to waste my time in the country and that the best thing I can do is to go to Canada.

My passage is already taken by the mail boat sailing from

Bombay on the 28th July with the option of transferring it to the next mail boat which will be the last to fit in with the Canadian programme. I am therefore waiting to see the result of the influential conference I have called on the 6th-7th July. If unanimity is reached I shall cancel the passage and prepare myself to face the music in the country. If not I propose to leave my views on paper and clear out of the country for 4 months in the hope of returning better fitted to engage in the real fight which in spite of Simons and other constitution-mongers is bound to be fought one day. For this great fight a short absence from the country will be quite immaterial.

If there is nothing doing in the country it will be the height of folly to throw away the chance of a round of world tour at the expense of Canada as I can never hope to undertake such a tour at my own expense.

You have now all the facts before you. Please advise on them and let me hear from you before the 6th.

I had a talk with Ansari about Kamala and Indu and am glad to say that in his opinion there is nothing wrong with Indu. Kamala's case however is different. There is undoubtedly something wrong with her and the risk of relapse is always there. But there need be no particular anxiety about her present condition which Ansari says was more or less expected after what she had recently gone through. She is making good progress at Mussoorie.

Yours sincerely,
Motilal Nehru

THRONE FOR ENERGETIC PEOPLE

Dear Mahatmaji,

I am at last able to say that some kind of unanimity has been arrived at as to the report of the Committee. It is neither complete nor of the genuine type but something we can stand for both in the All Parties Conference and the country at large. I enclose a copy of the proceedings in their final stages which will give you an idea of how we have dealt with the controversial points. The members have all gone to their respective homes leaving Jawahar and myself to prepare the report and we are now hard at work on it.

You might have seen in the press that I have sent my resignation of membership of the Canadian delegation as I felt

that whatever chances there were of our report being accepted by the All Parties Conference would be minimised by my absence from the country.

Now comes the question of the crown. I am clear that the hero of the hour is Vallabhbhai and the least we can do to appreciate his public services is to offer him the crown. Failing him I think that under all the circumstances Jawahar would be the next best choice. He has no doubt frightened many of our goody goodies by his plain talk. But the time has come when the more energetic and determined workers should have their own way of guiding the political activities of the country. There are I admit points of difference between this class and the one to which you and I belong but there is no reason why we should continue to force our views on the former. Our race is fast dying out and the struggle will sooner or later have to be continued by men of Jawahar's type. The sooner they begin the better.

As for myself I feel that I have lost much of the confidence I had in myself and am more or less a spent force. It is not the throne but the power behind it which counts and I do not see such of the latter that I can rely upon barring of course yourself. I have in compliance with your request given you my ideas on the subject. It is for you to come to a decision.

Yours sincerely,
Motilal Nehru

Anand Bhawan,
Allahabad
24.11.1928.

Dear Mahatmaji,

The more I think of the work before us in Calcutta during Christmas week the more it becomes apparent to me that your presence both at the All Parties Conference and the Congress is essential.

You have already promised to be present at the Congress but I do not know your full programme. The Convention begins on the 22nd December. This date has been fixed after much discussion though Mr. Jinnah is still dissatisfied. All the Members of the Committee however both original and co-opted numbering 15 and the Reception Committee of the Congress are unanimous that in the circumstances the 22nd is the most suit-

able date. The reasons which have prevailed with them were stated by me in two confidential notes issued to the Members. I am not sure that I have not already sent you copies of these notes and to be on the safe side I enclose copies.

The position is this. The Provincial Muslim League of the Punjab and Bengal, the only two provinces that matter have adopted the Lucknow decisions by overwhelming majorities and given up their demand for reservation of seats for majorities. The provinces where the Muslims are in minorities have really no say in the matter and are now confining themselves to special concessions for themselves. Evidence is accumulating that the Report and the Lucknow decisions will be approved by a substantial majority at the open Session of the League in Calcutta. This is the result of intensive propaganda carried on among the Muslims at considerable expense. Practically the whole of the Muslim Press with the exception of two papers of not much consequence is also supporting the Report.

This has greatly perturbed the Muslim Members of the Assembly belonging to Jinnah's party who are one and all bitterly opposed to the Report and the Lucknow decisions. All told they number 8 or 9 and with the addition of Sir Purshottamdas constitute the whole of Jinnah's party. In his anxiety to keep his hold on these people Jinnah is playing into their hands. The game is to put off the consideration of the Report by the Muslim League at its annual Session which means a protracted controversy during the whole year 1929. It is impossible to keep the Muslims in hand all this time and my Committee has therefore decided upon the 22nd as the opening day of the Convention. The other dates are mentioned in the slip attached to one of my notes and will show that Jinnah has no valid reasons to be dissatisfied. Any way it was impossible to refuse to avail of the opportunity of getting the Report through simply to please Mr. Jinnah.

As for the real work I am confident of success. All I need is your help.

I am asking the Reception Committee to arrange accommodation for you and me in neighbouring houses or at least not far apart. Kindly let me know when you expect to arrive in Calcutta. As at present advised I intend to leave on the afternoon of the 20th by the Punjab Mail due in Calcutta early next morning.

May I ask you to strengthen the hands of my Committee by one or two more paragraphs in 'Young India' recommending the

adoption of Dominion Status by the Congress without prejudice to the ultimate goal of complete Independence.

Yours sincerely,
Motilal Nehru

Dear Motilalji,

Here is a true translation of Vithalbhai's letter. 'If you do not accept or rather ask for the crown this year, you would be committing another Himalayan blunder. I am coming on the 17th to persuade you to see my way.' I can guess what he has to say. But I shall await his arrival. I thought you should know this latest development. Your wire has brought me relief. I wish Jawahar will come to a decision and end the uncertainty.

Yours sincerely,
M.K. Gandhi

11.7.29.

Sardar Griha,
Dated Bombay the 20th July '29.

My dear Panditji,

In spite of the Times of India, I have been gadding about and during my tour I made it a point to visit the Sage of Sabar-mati. I have been noticing since some weeks names of Jawahir, Vallabhbhai Patel and Mahatma Gandhi mentioned for the Presidentship of the ensuing session of the Congress and on full consideration of all the circumstances, I have come to the conclusion that in the interest of the cause we all have at heart, it is necessary that Mahatma Gandhi should preside over the deliberations of the Congress. I am, therefore, of opinion that both Jawahir and Vallabhbhai should retire and help to secure the unanimous election of Mahatma Gandhi. I have discussed the question with him in all its aspects and asked him to tell you fully why I think his election would best serve the cause of the country at this juncture. I found him very unwilling to take the responsibility but if you and I agree, I have no doubt he would be prepared to bear the brunt.

I should like to say a word about the question you are about to consider in the All India Congress Committee. I am quite clear in my mind that this is not the time to renew the pro-change and no-change controversy and so far as I am concerned, I am confirmed in the view that I endorsed as a member of the

Civil Disobedience Committee that the capture of Councils by Congressmen is essential to enable our movement outside the Councils to be successful.

I have ventured to let you have my views on both these questions which are at present engaging your attention in the hope that you will give some consideration to them.

Yours sincerely,
V.J. Patel

NEARING THE END

Please tell everybody that I am quite well now. I was out of sorts for eight or nine days with occasional fever and apathy for all food but it is all over now and I am gradually gaining strength. I am a bit pulled down but that is of no consequence and I hope to meet you all on Saturday next much in the same state of health as you saw me last.

The food now being received from Anand Bhawan or 9, Cawnpore Road (I do not know which it is) is quite welcome and agrees much better than the food prepared here. It will only be necessary to send it for a few days after which I will take to the old habit in similar circumstances of filling the cooker myself with things that I fancy. As usual I shall be inventing new dishes from time to time some of which at least will come up to my expectations.

I think I require some diversion of this kind. As it is everything is found for me and I have to do nothing but to eat, sleep and read. Hari would do well to take a leaf out of Jawahar's book in the matter of serving me. From early morning tea to the time I retire for the night I find everything I need in its place. The minutest detail is carefully attended to and it has never become necessary to ask for anything which had so frequently to be done at Anand Bhawan involving a fair amount of shouting. Mahmud lends a helping hand now and then but the chief burden falls upon Jawahar. I hate myself for being so lazy and taking up such a lot of Jawahar's time which could be much better utilised in other ways. But he anticipates everything and leaves nothing for me to do. I wish there were many fathers to boast of such sons.

We are following your movements so far as they appear from the 'Pioneer'. There is little information in this paper but from what little finds a place in it but if it does, a tremendous

victory is assured to both Hindus and Mussalmans. If it does not there is no hope for us and it is idle to talk of Hindu-Muslim unity and constitutional and communal rights.

(An extract from a letter to Dr. M.A. Ansari dated 7-2-1930)

CONGRESS WORKING COMMITTEE

Anand Bhawan,
Allahabad, May 8, 1930.

Dear Vithalbhai,

I have received your telegram from Calcutta and replied to you at Bombay as desired. In case it has not reached you, as is very likely, I have directed Rajarao to send you a copy by post. You will receive it along with this letter.

I am sorry I have not been able to take you on the Working Committee as it was pointed out to me that under the constitution I could only appoint those who are eligible for election by the All India Committee. The latter can only elect out of its own members. As you are not yet a member of the A.I.C.C. I could not nominate you. There are so many vacancies in the A.I.C.C. which have not been filled up by the Provincial Committees. They ought to send up your name from Gujarat or Bombay. But it is immaterial whether you are a member of the Working Committee or not. I have invited you to attend and give the Committee the benefit of your advice.

Abbas Tyabji wanted the Working Committee to meet at Jalalpur as arranged before Gandhiji's arrest. The only attraction of Jalalpur was the presence of Gandhiji and he being taken away there was no justification for compelling people from Bengal, Behar, Punjab and U.P. to go to an outlandish village on the sea coast where there are no accommodation and conveniences of any kind. Yours proposal to hold the meeting at Bombay was ruled out on the ground of Mahatmaji's absence and the majority of other members belonging to upper India. I have therefore maintained Allahabad as the venue and 12th May as the date which was notified in the Press immediately after Gandhiji's arrest and before I heard from you or Tyabji.

I have fixed the 15th May for the Peshawar enquiry and have wired to the Viceroy and the Chief Commissioner, Peshawar as follows:-

"As Acting President of the A.I.C.C. I have appointed a

committee with Mr. V.J. Patel as Chairman and Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Maulana Abdulkadir Kasuri, Dr. Kitchlew (since arrested), Sardar Sardul Singh Caveeshar, Dr. Satyapal (since arrested), Lala Dunichand of Lahore and Dr. Syed Mahumud as members to enquire into the recent happenings at Peshawar. This Committee will arrive in Peshawar on Thursday the 15th May and begin their enquiry on the same or the next day. The exact time and place will be notified by the Chairman. I request that the Committee be allowed to proceed on their journey and do their work without interference or obstruction. I invite local officials to appear and lay their case before the Committee. I am aware that an official enquiry into the same events has been ordered but in the circumstances such enquiry will not inspire confidence and a non-official enquiry is highly expedient."

Having regard to the uncertainty attending the delivery of telegrams sent to me or by me I have informed the members of the Committee by post. As all the members of the Enquiry Committee who are still free to attend are also members of the Working Committee you should make a start at their head on the 13th from Allahabad.

Please let me know when you are arriving.

Yours sincerely,
Motilal Nehru

